

KAMPUKHEA

DOSSIER

III

THE DARK YEARS

PUBLISHED BY
VIETNAM COURIER
HANOI - 1979

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EDITOR'S NOTE

In 1978, Vietnam Courier published two booklets about Kampuchea — Kampuchea Dossiers I and II. They tried to portray the situation in Kampuchea after the establishment of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime and investigate the origins of the border war waged by that regime against Vietnam from 1975 to 1978. This booklet is the last in the series and aims to give a comprehensive summary of the crimes committed by the Pol Pot regime, undoubtedly the most bloody in human history.

The publication of this booklet coincides with the opening in Phnom Penh of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal to try Pol Pot and Ieng Sary for genocide. We are including some Tribunal documents which may be helpful to readers. "The People of Phnom Penh Accuse" is the full text of an investigation report on the crimes committed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary against Phnom Penh inhabitants. It was prepared by Vandy Kaonn, Doctor of Sociology and Bachelor of Arts, one of the few surviving Kampuchean intellectuals who is now working for the Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Hanoi, September 1979
VIETNAM COURIER

KAMPUCHEA : THE DARK YEARS

VU CAN

Before packing up and going to Yunnan (China), Radio Democratic Kampuchea broadcast daily torrents of praise for the Khmer Rouge revolution, which it described as a “radical, one hundred per cent socialist revolution”, “progressing by leaps and bounds and recording gigantic advances and achieving marvels”. In fact, on that “glorious 17 April 1975” when an end was put to the Lon Nol regime, a blood-thirsty dictatorship came into existence, that of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique, dubbed “dictatorship of the Blackshirts” by the mass of the people. It was to last until 7 January 1979 when it was overthrown following the liberation of Phnom Penh by the armed forces of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea. The Kampuchean people will bitterly remember every day spent under that genocidal regime which had no precedent in the history of mankind. In three years, eight months, and 20 days, about three million people were exterminated. The 4.5 million survivors were forced to do hard labour and suffered hunger, disease, and terror.

All that is known to the world. Many authors have published severe indictments of the regime.

In the West particularly, while kind-hearted and honest people were badly shaken by the Kampuchean tragedy, others shamelessly exploited it: for them the crimes perpetrated each day in that unfortunate country in the name of "communism" were an ideal opportunity for slandering the latter and bringing opprobrium upon it. And yet, when the authors of those crimes were unmasked as reactionaries who were seeking to undermine the revolutionary movement from within and when they were overthrown by genuine revolutionaries, those same people who had been clamouring against genocide suddenly became quite discreet about it. They even started attacking those who had shed their blood to bring that genocide to an end. In their desperate effort those self-styled champions of human rights have even gone to the length of seeking to revive the political corpse of Pol Pot in certain international gatherings.

The present debate on the Kampuchean problem calls for a detailed inquiry into that regime which claimed to work for the sake of man yet sought to destroy him. It requires an investigation into its causes and effects. Public opinion should have the opportunity to examine documents which will enable it to sift out the truth and also to draw a lesson from those events. It should be able to see the true faces of those pseudo-revolutionaries who obstinately attempted to destroy the past without showing the least capability to build the future, who used the people as stepping-stones to power

yet, having gained power, looked upon them as guinea-pigs on which to experiment political lines and doctrines that were so adventurous as to border on insanity.

A difficult resurrection

Six months after the overthrow of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, no stable existence has yet come to the people of Kampuchea. The last dens of that gang in the provinces of Battambang and Pursat were taken in late April, early May. The people who had been forcibly moved there from the east are now returning home. The same applies to the local populations who had been driven to the eastern provinces of Kampot, Takeo and Prey Veng. They too are now returning home, and the two human streams cross each other at Phnom Penh.

In the less than four years in which they were in power, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary organized at least two large-scale exoduses: the first, to clean the towns and cities of their populations; the second, to carry out a vast mixing of populations. Those living in the east were pushed to the west; those living in the south were driven up north; and vice versa. Families were torn apart and scattered to the four corners of the country. The idea was to form *sahakar*, or agricultural co-ops, with new demographic units, composed of members who were strangers to each other and suspicious of each other. Secret agents were planted in their midst to control them. Gradually it appeared that the Khmers Rouges' policy was to nip in the bud all organized

opposition. This policy proved effective to a certain extent: debased humans were turned into docile animals devoid of any will to resist.

Immediately after their liberation on 7 January 1979 from the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary yoke, the people undertook a third exodus, this time of their own free will. For those millions of displaced people there was but one wish: to return to their native places. Soon they were seen on the move. Fear had vanished from their faces but no smile had yet blossomed on their lips and in their eyes. Many were to drag themselves over hundreds of kilometres, their legs swollen by beriberi, suffering from hunger and thirst, the sun beating fiercely on their bare heads. The people's administration gave them food from the rice stores seized from the enemy and sent trucks to carry old folk, children, pregnant women, invalids, seriously ill people... Wherever this was possible, rest places were set up along the roads. Suffering was alleviated but people still fell, exhausted, during their trek.

Within the localities themselves, people were on the move. For once back in their villages, they immediately started an anguished search for their dear ones — husbands, wives, parents, children. This search was to stop only after they had convinced themselves that those who were absent would never return. People also looked for their oxen or buffaloes which had been requisitioned by the "people's communes", had fled into the forest, or had been seized by others. They also collected bamboo and timber to build temporary shelters for the former dwellings had all been destroyed or

ransacked. A great deal of effort was required to retrieve a few earthenware vessels, pots, bowls, plates and other household utensils indispensable to daily life...

Mr Kim Din, a leader of Kompong Cham province, told me: "For half a year, millions of people were on the move. As a result much land was left untilled. Nothing remained of the 'people's communes' which had been forcibly set up by the Khmers Rouges. Fields had been collectivized, the markers had disappeared, and the paddy dykes had been flattened. How could the plots be returned to their original owners? So in execution of orders from the central authorities, peasants were gathered into production teams of 15-20 members each. The immediate aim was to fight famine. As for a long-term organization of production, we are still groping. Fishing, which used to keep a lot of people busy, has not yet picked up because of a shortage of boats. Large numbers of Vietnamese and Cham fishermen had been massacred."

What remained of the scanty stocks of food built by the Pol Pot administration was distributed to the people in the very first days following liberation. Now production activities have barely begun. The entire population, at the very least two million people, are seriously threatened by famine. Indeed famine is a long-standing spectre. Even before the capture of Phnom Penh in 1975 by the Khmers Rouges, Long Boret, the last prime minister in the Lon Nol administration, declared, "We have only enough food left for a week." The shortage of food, however, could have been overcome in spite of its

gravity resulting from the five years of resistance to American aggression, if the Khmers Rouges had mobilized the people for production instead of indulging in the bloodbath we now all know about and sending to China hundreds of thousands of tons of rice each year. Natural conditions in Kampuchea are very favourable. Yet, in order to resolve that problem of chronic hunger, the Khmers Rouges adopted this simplistic measure: they ordered the population to subsist on thin rice gruel all the year round. According to witnesses living in different places, the daily ration of rice was a mere canful of about 300 grammes for a group of three or four people—or even up to ten people in pre-harvest periods. Yet they had to work 12-14 hours a day. To help fill their stomachs, they ate unripe bananas, sliced banana stem, potato leaves, wild grass—formerly feed for the pigs. The two daily “meals” were taken at the common eating place. It was forbidden to do any cooking at home. People caught toads, mice, snakes, lizards, small geckoes, millepedes, etc., for food. Denise Affonço, a French woman who had been moved from Phnom Penh to Siem Reap, relates in her diary “Prisoner of the Khmers Rouges for three years” that in order not to starve to death, she had imitated her companions and eaten crickets, scorpions and cockroaches, which she learnt to broil. Cases of cannibalism have been reported.

A horrifying story was told me by a 17-year-old girl named Chhay Sani who came from Chhai Khmau village, Koh Thom district, Kandal province.

"My family," she said, "was driven from Kandal to Pursat. We were five: my mother, my brothers, my sister and me. We were put to digging earth at the foot of the Little Mountain. It was very hard work, which lasted from dawn to nightfall. There was no holiday. One worked day in, day out. For food we were given two bowlfuls of thin gruel each day. In late 1978, early 1979, there was no more rice, and so no more gruel. One just got along as one could. Even the soldiers and cadres were hungry. My younger brother Chhai Monn looked a bit less thin than the others, and so one day a group of Khmers Rouges, some of them sick, killed and ate him in the presence of my mother and myself. My mother shouted at them and cursed them: they killed her and ate her liver. It was early this year, before Pursat was liberated."

The people's administration has launched a nationwide struggle against famine. Besides growing rice, the people have also planted short-growth food crops, mostly maize. Within each production team, groups take turns caring for the crops and looking for the daily food: crabs, fish, frogs, clams, bamboo shoots, wild tubers... In many provinces, three-fourths of the population receive food relief from the State — seven kilograms of rice per person — thanks to help from Vietnam and other socialist countries. In spite of food shortages, the daily ration is much better than in Pol Pot time. No one will starve, such is the resolve of every locality as well as the revolutionary State.

Kampuchea is going through a slow revival after suffering from genocide.

Ox-cart axle and mass grave

In Kampuchea today, wherever one goes, one feels as though one were treading on human remains and smelling the stench of rotting corpses.

I was standing beside a Kampuchean friend on the second floor of a hotel on former Monivong Avenue in Phnom Penh. We were looking at the lush green coconut palms lining the pavements. They were about three years old, judging from their height which was about two or three times that of the walls enclosing the villas.

"They are the work of Pol Pot," said my friend, pointing to the palms. "Our capital city was cleared of its population but coconut and banana palms were planted and thrive. When I came back to Phnom Penh I was able to taste juicy mangoes. Also Pol Pot's work, I was told. Why? Because under each tree were human remains."

Similar stories were told me by others. Some cadres in an economic department once made a bet with incredulous friends: they had barely started digging around the foot of a mango tree when human bones appeared!

In Kompong Cham I participated in the work of a commission of inquiry into the genocidal crimes of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary gang. We went to the Chup rubber plantation which was well-known in Indochina. Guided by the head of the local people's self-management committee, we penetrated into a grove lining the road, about one kilometre from a hamlet. In the days of the two wars of resistance,

this was an operational base for allied Kampuchean-Vietnamese troops. It was savagely bombed by American B.52s and one can still see there many bomb craters.

We started digging into a filled-up crater about 20 metres across. At a depth of no more than 20 centimetres, we found arm bones linked together by metal wire. The flesh had not been entirely decomposed and there was a horrible stench. In barely fifteen minutes we unearthed about ten skulls, thigh bones, ribs, pelvic bones together with fragments of clothing. Digging into two other filled-up craters yielded the same gruesome finds. We also unearthed an iron bar and an axe, probably the instruments used for the killings.

A 51-year-old former worker at the plantation, a man named Nhim Samoun, told us: "Many bomb craters were thus filled with corpses. In the days of the Khmers Rouges, I had to place a wet handkerchief on my nostrils every time I went into the plantation to collect latex. Most of the people buried here belonged to families who had actively participated in the two wars of resistance. They were pitilessly liquidated. To our area came many Chinese 'advisers' who claimed themselves to be specialists of rubber planting and processing. They were present at many massacres. The three craters which have just been dug up are, I believe, among the most tightly crammed with dead bodies. In our estimate, about 20,000 people in all were massacred and buried in this grove".

We visited a neighbouring commune, Chhiao Hai. Wild grass had grown at the bottoms of the craters.

It was enough to poke into the ground with the handle of a hoe to find heaps of human bones. We were shown one such heap which was about 15 metres long and 5 metres wide. The depth of the layer of human remains was yet to be determined. A rough estimate was about a thousand corpses. Popular militiamen accompanying us started digging. A few strokes of the hoe were enough to bring up a sizable quantity of skulls and thigh bones. The work was interrupted by rain and we had no pump to drain out the water. The local people assured us that the grass that grew on such mass graves was particularly lush and green.

In the town of Kompong Cham, the capital of the province, the authorities informed us that new graves had been discovered at the foot of two hills called Mount Boy and Mount Girl about seven kilometres away. According to the testimony of a former truck driver each evening about 8 to 10 heavy lorries were used by the Khmers Rouges to bring victims to the places of execution. The human loads were covered with tarpaulins. The victims were pinioned and taken to the edge of ditches which had been dug beforehand. There each group of 12 was tied to a bamboo stem about five metres long. Thus there was no need to attach them to individual stakes. Then an executioner struck them at the back of their necks with the axle of an ox-cart until the whole string was down. The bamboo stem was freed for further use. The corpses were stripped of their clothes and pushed into the ditch. When it was filled, a bull-dozer heaped earth on it. Meanwhile loud-speakers blared forth Khmer Rouge "revolutionary" songs which drowned out the cries of the victims.

I talked with a survivor of those massacres, a 23-year-old girl named Tui Sakoun, who came from Kosso Tinh commune, Kosso Tinh district, Kompong Cham province. During the war of resistance to American aggression she was deputy regional secretary of the Communist youth organization, from 1974 to 1978. Following the aborted uprising of 25 May 1978 in the Eastern Military Zone, she became a suspect and was expelled from the organization a month later. She was interrogated, bound up, and taken to the edge of a ditch about 10 metres long and 5 wide. She was not blindfolded. With an ox-cart axle, an executioner struck her on the head. The blow has left a deep scar.

I had occasion to examine one of those ox-cart axles: it was an iron bar as big as a man's wrist, about 70 centimetres long and weighing 6-7 kilograms. Tui Sakoun told me how she survived the execution:

"When I came to, it was pitch dark. I smelt a horrible stench. I had the impression of lying on something strangely soft. Then I remembered what had happened at nightfall. So I must be lying on corpses. I fought back the terrible pain I felt and by mustering my last bits of strength succeeded in climbing out of the ditch. I stumbled across the fields and reached my hamlet where honest people treated my wound and hid me. Six months later the region was liberated. As I was unable to move I was taken to hospital. Now half of my body is still paralysed and I can't see things very clearly."

After their defeat the Pol Pot gang persisted in their criminal endeavour. At Amleang commune in Kompong Speu province more mass graves have

recently been discovered, containing about 12,000 corpses. The victims had been massacred in February this year before the Khmers Rouges fled the region. They were mostly workers employed in the building of an airfield in Kompong Chhnang, deported Phnom Penh workers, and even Khmers Rouges who opposed the war. There were also among them civilians who had fled to Thailand but had been driven back to Kampuchea. All of them were charged with treason and quickly done away with.

Ox-cart axle, mass grave, black uniform — such is an image of the Pol Pot regime which will remain engraved in the minds of the Kampuchians.

Use the countryside to destroy the towns

As is known to all, the Khmers Rouges faithfully followed this principle laid down by Mao Zedong: "Use the countryside to encircle the towns." In Sihanouk's time, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary — Son Sen clique organized some maquis in a jungle area close to Kampuchea's northern and western frontiers. Failing adequate popular support they were unable either to beef up their strength or to pose any threat to the regime then in power in Phnom Penh. A premature uprising by peasants in Samlaut, Battambang province, was drowned in blood.

The true bases for the Khmer Rouge "revolution" were only set up during the anti-American resistance. Following Sihanouk's overthrow on 18

March 1970, the allied forces of the Americans, Thieu and Lon Nol launched a large-scale offensive against it. The Khmer Rouge leaders asked for assistance from the Vietnamese. The Vietnamese liberation forces defeated the two campaigns of Lon Nol and his allies — Chenla I and Chenla II — and set up a vast liberated area in the five eastern provinces of Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Kompong Cham, Kratié and Monduliri. This zone was soon handed over to the Khmers Rouges. From there the resistance was to spread to rural areas throughout the country. The puppet forces were pinned down in the towns and conditions were created for the capture of Phnom Penh by the Khmers Rouges on 17 April 1975.

However, unlike the Vietnamese revolution, the Kampuchean revolution was to turn its back on the towns, which the Khmer Rouge leaders regarded as “malignant tumours”. They lumped together the officers, soldiers, police and civil servants of the former puppet administration and made no distinction between the ringleaders and those who had been coerced or forced by necessity to serve that regime. The populations of the towns were regarded, globally, as valets of imperialism. Yet I am told by many intellectuals of Phnom Penh that the people of this city did not at all like Lon Nol and his corrupt officials who pocketed the wages of their soldiers and encouraged them to indulge in plunder in broad daylight. The majority of workers, students, intellectuals, junior civil servants, small traders... aspired to a peaceful life, longed for justice, and put their hopes in the revolution. The Khmers

Rouges, however, kept them at arm's length and neglected them. They eventually cracked down on them vengefully.

It must be said, in all fairness, that the men who later came to be called Khmers Rouges started legal and semi-legal political action after Sihanouk had abdicated and become Head of State in 1955. They organized the Pracheachon (People's Party), participated in parliamentary struggle, presented their own candidates in elections to the National Assembly, and held posts in the government. They published a French language newspaper, *l'Observateur*, and organized a private secondary school named Chamroeun Vichea (Progressive Education). In imitation of the Trotskyites, they advocated "entrism" or tactics of penetration into Sihanouk's political party, the Sangkum Reastr Niyum. However, they undertook no in-depth activity, no patient agitation with a view to awakening the political conscience of the broad popular masses, organizing them and mobilizing them for revolutionary struggle. Their action ended when their leaders took to the hills.

This is what Doctor Nouth Savoeun, 46, head of the "January 7" hospital in Phnom Penh, told me: "Believe me, it was not easy to understand what happened. My family used to know Pol Pot — his real name is Saloth Sar — and his wife Khieu Ponnary, who was nicknamed the 'white-haired witch'. I taught biology and French at the Chamroeun Vichea school of which he was the director. My brother Nouth Pannara, who was a friend of his, succeeded him as director after he had fled to the maquis. We are progressive intellectuals. We used

to admire the Khmers Rouges and wish they would win victory, until the day they entered Phnom Penh and laid down their mask!"

Dr Nouth Savoeun was not the only one to welcome the Khmers Rouges and be cruelly disappointed. Except a small minority of reactionaries, all the 2.5 million people of Phnom Penh together with about another million of townsfolk had entertained similar hopes and were to suffer the same disillusion.

At one in the morning on 1 January 1975, Khmer Rouge heavy guns started shelling Phnom Penh as a prelude to their final offensive. The population was in a state of feverish expectation. Two weeks later, an aircraft belonging to the puppet air force dropped two bombs on the headquarters of the general staff—a sign that the end was nearing. This fact alone should have enlightened the Khmer Rouge leaders for it spoke volumes about division within the ranks of the enemy. On January 15, the vice was tightened around Phnom Penh. Fires blazed in the outskirts. Then, following one night of intensive bombardment with artillery and rockets, the guns fell silent on the morning of 17 April. Black-uniformed soldiers entered the capital.

The streets overflowed with people coming out to welcome those they considered their liberators. All were wearing their best clothes. Students' choirs were formed and musical instruments were ready on the pavements. Women had made garlands of flowers to be hung around the necks of the victors. Crowds of children, full of excitement, stood on tiptoe watching the black-uniformed soldiers

march past. All broke into applause on their passage. But to the general surprise, those soldiers in black uniform and rubber sandals cut from old automobile tyres wore a blank look on their faces. They just looked straight before them in icy silence. Children waving small red flags and young women with garlands of flowers rushed out to meet them, but they rudely pushed them back, using even rifle butts.

After Khmer Rouge troops had occupied all key points in the city, jeeps with loudspeakers were stationed at crossroads from which they blared forth orders to the effect that the people were to leave the capital immediately, before American aircraft would bomb it.

Says Dr Nouth Savoeun: "They urged us to leave immediately without taking anything with us, for our absence was to last only three days. The doors were to be left open for control. As some people procrastinated, soldiers fired shots into the air as a warning. The exodus began in that way."

The Khmers Rouges divided the city into four sectors. The population in each sector was to leave in the same direction. No exception was allowed. Under no pretext could one retrace one's steps. So much the worst for children who got lost or women who were separated from their husbands by accident. The human tide in the main arteries was so dense that progress was excessively slow. Mothers and children cried their hearts out. From time to time a shot rang out and a recalcitrant fell. All patients in hospitals were driven out, including those undergoing a blood transfusion or in childbirth. In the operating room of Calmette Hospital,

Dr Thor Pen Thong was carrying out a difficult operation under the direction of Professor Son Qui. As they did not leave the place quickly enough, Khmer Rouge soldiers coming to enforce the order simply let loose an anti-tank B.40 rocket.

"It was a nightmare," Dr Nouth Savoeun continues, "we were driven away like a herd of animals. At gunpoint, not with the whip. We got the impression that we had been deceived. Three days passed without anybody daring to ask for permission to return. We just slogged on. Corpses dotted the roadside. On many occasions I saw groups of former Lon Nol soldiers, pinioned, being taken away into a corner of the jungle. Then gunshots rang out. After walking for several weeks, my legs and feet were swollen. We came to Svey Tiep commune, Chamcar Loeu district, Kompong Cham province. Because I knew the country's leaders, I was granted some favour. Let me tell you, incidentally, that not only was my brother a friend of Pol Pot's but his wife was a cousin of Khieu Ponnary, Pol Pot's wife, and Khieu Thirith, Ieng Sary's wife. So I was given two months' leave and permission to resume my trade as a medical doctor. The other inhabitants of Phnom Penh were not so lucky. What befell them was forced labour in the fields under the control of the local authorities. When I left Phnom Penh I had with me about a million *riels*. But the Khmers Rouges abolished all currency and I found myself empty-handed. No more money, no more means of communication, no postal service, no opportunity for social intercourse and mutual information. We were cut off from the

outside world and placed under the sole authority of Angkar—the Organization—with a view to our transformation into peasants.”

The Maoist watchword: “Use the countryside to encircle the towns” was quietly turned into a new one between 1970 and 1975: “Use the countryside to destroy the towns.” But Mao Zedong himself was to heap praise on his disciple Pol Pot at their meeting in Beijing in June 1975: “You have achieved wonderful results. At one blow you have done away with all social classes.” These words are preserved in a document kept in the archives of the Central Committee of Pol Pot’s party, known under the code name of Department 870.

Death to intellectuals!

The list of victims of Khmer Rouge genocide in Kampuchea should perhaps begin with the civilian and military personnel of the Lon Nol administration. Pol Pot’s order was to massacre all officers, soldiers, police, and civil servants of the former regime together with their families, including infants and old people. No distinction was made whether the victims had willingly collaborated with that regime or had been forced to do so; whether they accepted the new regime or opposed it. This policy of “uprooting the weeds” had been traditionally practised by Asian despots; it was applied by the Khmers Rouges in a systematic and thoroughgoing way. According to 1974 statistics, the Lon Nol puppet army comprised 253,000 men. ⁽¹⁾ Add to

(1) *The Search for Peace* published by the Ministry of Information of the Khmer Republic, Phnom Penh, 1974.

this a minimum of 150,000 police and civil servants and you have a total of 400,000 people on the death list, and this without mentioning their dependents. For their justification the Khmers Rouges claimed that all sources of subversion, present and future, were to be destroyed. But nothing could justify such cruelty !

What was even more difficult to understand was their decision to destroy other social strata and other social communities—the intellectuals in the first place.

Says Chan Sary: "There were intellectuals in my family. I myself was a teacher in Kompong Chhnang before being driven to Preah Vihear in the northermost corner of the country. My father was an agronomist. In the days of Lon Nol he worked at the Phnom Penh Agronomical Institute. After 17 April 1975, he was taken to Kompong Cham. In May 1975, the Khmers Rouges declared that, all engineers, technicians and other specialists should have their names registered at Pok Po pagoda; they would be given jobs in their respective fields. My father and 40 others did as they were told. All were arrested and executed. Besides my father, three more members of my family died: my elder brother, a teacher; and my two younger brothers, one an agronomist and the other a teacher of English."

Similar stories can be heard everywhere. This is what was told me by Mr Vandy Kaonn, a doctor of sociology who had received his training in Paris. "The Khmer Rouge stratagem was the same everywhere: intellectuals were urged to register themselves with the authorities and thus be given the

opportunity to participate in national reconstruction. After I was driven out of Phnom Penh, I had occasion to spend three weeks in the company of intellectuals well-known in the country: Doctors Saing Sophon and Thach Son, the chemist Phanna Douc, the medical professor Ngo Hou Bonveat and the civil engineer Ung Krapum Phka, and others. They were impressed by the Khmers Rouges' appeal. They told me that they had not lost all confidence in the Pol Pot team since it included such a reputable intellectual as the French-returned Khieu Samphan. I advised them to show more caution but they fell into the trap all the same. One morning in May 1975 Professor Ngo Hou Bonveat came to me and said: "This is my last pair of trousers and I am at the end of my tether. I have nothing left that I can barter for a handful of rice. I have survived for a month by sponging on my nieces, but they too are about to starve. If you manage to survive tell my wife, who is now in France, that my last thought was for her. Farewell!" Now, six months after the liberation of Phnom Penh, I've had no news of those fellow intellectuals."

Mr Vandy Kaonn speaks elegant French. But one cannot say that he looked like an intellectual. He was thin and sunburnt and looked as though he had been working in the sun all his life. He also wears no glasses. For three years, eight months, and 20 days he had succeeded in hiding his identity.

He added: "I quickly drew a lesson from the fate of the first victims of the Khmers Rouges. When I was asked what I had been doing in Phnom

Penh I said I was a cigarette vendor. Some over-zealous fellow, however, gave me a sharp rebuke and said he had seen me selling bread. I hastily admitted that such had indeed been my occupation for some time. I was saved. Like me my friends concealed their past and pretended to have been news vendors, pedicab or taxi drivers, etc. The kind of socialism claimed by the Khmers Rouges was a horrifying one. They massacred the engineers they had, then mobilized thousands of people for the building of dams, without any blueprint being prepared beforehand. In many places, the dam would burst after less than a month. But what did they care? They simply ordered the people to build another one. The people were slaves that could be put to endless toil."

Mr Vandy Kaonn told me about the malicious persecution the Khmers Rouges inflicted on intellectuals out of irrepressible hatred for them. He recounted the tribulations of a young girl student of medicine named Nguon Sopheap, whom I happened to have met in Phnom Penh.

"As you can remember, she is very short-sighted," he said. "But her brigade chief, who came from a 'basic social category', could not tolerate her glasses. 'Your glasses annoy me' he used to tell her. 'You want to impress people, don't you?' Sopheap took pains to explain to him that her poor eyesight was a great handicap to her and that without her glasses she would be unable to do any work. But her efforts were to no avail. As a practical joke he would often take her glasses from her. Once after doing so he took away the last three rungs of the ladder leading down from the house on

stilts where the girl was living, then called to her to report to him. Sopheap groped her way down from the house but then her foot suddenly found a vacuum. She fell face down on the ground and broke several teeth. The Khmers Rouges enjoyed the sight enormously. On another occasion, the brigade chief, after taking the girl's glasses from her, pushed her into the river. She escaped drowning by a hair's breadth. Sopheap felt so miserable she repeatedly sought to take her own life, but was saved in all her attempts. This she attributed to Buddha's mercy for she is a fervent Buddhist. Now she has recovered the joy of life."

I talked to Mr Vandy Kaonn and his friends in French. Mr Bun Lok, who had studied philosophy at New Delhi University, occasionally spoke English. Only a short time ago, all of them had had to take the greatest care not to blurt out a foreign word for the Khmers Rouges felt mortal hatred for anyone speaking English or French.

"At night," said Mr Vandy Kaonn, "a spy would be posted under the floor of our house on stilts to listen to our conversations. Anyone who thoughtlessly used a French or English word when talking would be arrested the next morning and executed. I was once subjected to a test: At the infirmary where I came for an injection the nurse asked me if I understood anything about a prospectus written in French. I said no. Then he took a phial of medicine bearing a label in French which said, 'intramuscular injection' and ordered me to stretch my forearm for an intravenous injection. I was terrified: the injection could kill me and nobody would care. In the eyes of a Khmer Rouge I was a third

category citizen and as such quite expendable. I had enough presence of mind to tell the nurse that I had seen in hospitals the same medicine injected into muscular tissue, not veins. Finally I succeeded in persuading him to give me the injection in the buttock. ”

The oppression was such that many a young intellectual committed suicide. Mr Vandy Kaonn told me this story :

“It was a construction site in Stung Thom. Many intellectuals had died there, in many cases simply because they had blurted out a French or English word one evening, back from work in their huts. One day a student could endure it no longer. He sang aloud a song in French, then told his fellow-inmates: ‘Now I am ready to die’. Moments later he was taken away. He was deeply regretted for he was a sociable and generous young man. His mother died of grief a month later. His father hanged himself leaving these words: ‘May I never be reborn in this cursed land!’ Poor man. It was not Kampuchea that he should have cursed, but the Khmers Rouges.”

Not only did they suppress intellectuals inside Kampuchea, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary gang tried to lure home intellectuals residing abroad by promising them wonders. Mr Sieng Sarun, a French-trained expert in international law, returned home on 22 February 1976 together with a hundred other intellectuals. As soon as they landed at Pochentong airport, Mr Sieng Sarun recounted, they were stripped of their clothes and books and their diplomas were torn up. Then they were taken to a re-education camp where they had to work 15 hours a

day and subsist on a daily diet of two bowlfuls of thin rice gruel. Those who protested were killed on the spot. The same fate was shared by about a thousand other intellectuals returned from abroad. Hundreds were murdered.

According to preliminary investigations by the people's administration, the intelligentsia suffered particularly grievous losses under the Pol Pot regime. Four-fifths of the primary and secondary school-teachers died. Not a single college professor survived. Out of 643 medical doctors, pharmacists and dentists, only 69 are still alive. In 1975 there were 1,241 writers and artists in Kampuchea. Now only 121 remain. More than 2,000 athletes, some having participated in international contests, and 300 coaches were exterminated. All were driven to the countryside for "remoulding through labour" in people's communes, then gradually liquidated. In the provinces of Kandal, Prey Veng, Kompong Cham, Kratié and Kompong Speu in particular, there were set up concentration camps where intellectuals, and even school pupils, were systematically exterminated.

A circular of the authorities in Military Zone 203 dated 9 September 1977 thus spelled out the policy of the Central Committee of Pol Pot's party with regard to the intellectuals: "We must arm ourselves with revolutionary vigilance with regard to those who served the former regime: technicians, teachers, medical doctors, engineers and other specialists. Our party will not employ such people. Should we admit them into our ranks because we need technicians, they would penetrate ever deeper into our State apparatus and a considerable danger

would result therefrom." Those intellectuals who were not killed immediately could be considered under a suspended death sentence which could be carried out at any moment.

Death to Buddhist Priests !

A few houses on stilts, a few clumps of sugar-palms, and a pagoda which overlooks the flat expanse of the plain. People come and go against this background — dark-complexioned, a chequered scarf on their shoulders. Women wearing multi-coloured *sarongs* carry baskets on their heads, which causes their gait to be somewhat stiff. Men drive ox-carts with surprisingly tall wheels, which turn with the slowness of norias. Lastly, Buddhist monks in saffron robe begging for alms. Such is a picture of traditional Khmer society.

In Phnom Penh I never tire of admiring the pagodas whose gold-spangled roofs emerge from the green foliage of the gardens. But as soon as one comes nearer the spell is broken. In the courtyard destruction stares you in the face: Buddha statues deprived of head and limbs, railings decorated with figures of seven-headed *nagas* knocked down... Except the Silver Pagoda which stands close to the Royal Palace the thirty or so pagodas which accounted for so much of the charm of Phnom Penh have all been turned into storehouses. Some are crammed with DDT bags. Neak Voan is stuffed with scrap iron, Tuol Tapoung is full of refuse, Phuhear Khun, near Pochentong airport, is bursting with

bombs, ammunition, and aircraft spare-parts, Onalom, located north of the Royal Palace, was a conference room for the Khmers Rouges.

More tragic still was the fate of some other pagodas. Chumpus K'ek for instance, situated 10 kilometres from the capital on the bank of the Mekong, in Kandal province. To reach it from the highway one has to travel 4-5 kilometres over bumpy roads. According to surviving bonzes, this pagoda is almost a century old. Before Pol Pot, 29 monks lived there. Now, only three have returned. The pagoda grounds cover three hectares. There were a central building for the worship of Buddha, a hall for preaching, two dwellings for the priests, ten for the faithful, and 50 stupas under which lay funeral urns containing the ashes of the dead. There was also a primary school run by the monks with three dormitories for 180 students. The building stood in the shade of tall trees: mango, longane, jackfruit, sugar-palm and white-trunked sao...

Now, nothing, or almost, remains of Chumpus K'ek pagoda and the adjoining buildings. The central worship hall is but a big heap of rubble dotted with tufts of grass. The quarters reserved for the faithful have been ransacked and wrecked. Whole rows of trees have been cut down.

Now one hears prayers coming from the damaged preaching hall, and the school has reopened. But a pall of ruin and mourning hangs over the whole place. The banana-palms alone seem to be thriving.

"It's because they grow on human remains", says Mr Chum Sary. "The Khmers Rouges converted the pagoda into a prison and a charnel house. In the

period between June 1975 and 7 January 1979, they kept a large number of people here, tortured and massacred them and threw their bodies into the ditches surrounding the grounds of the pagoda. They filled the ditches with earth and planted banana-palms on them”.

Mr Chum Sary, 41, is a native of Prek Tamun commune, Kosso Tinh district, Kompong Cham province. He kept a garage in Phnom Penh. When the pagoda was turned into a prison—he only remembers the month—he was taken here to look after the cars and lorries and teach his trade to some of the warders.

“Prisoners were taken here by groups,” he adds. “They were soldiers, officers, and civil servants of the former Lon Nol regime, Buddhist monks, people accused of having stolen food or damaged farming implements belonging to people’s communes, young men and women charged with falling in love without Angkar’s permission, etc. Men were kept in quarters previously reserved for the monks and faithful, while women and children were detained in class-rooms. The diet was one boiled ear of maize per head per day. Political suspects were tortured either in the central hall, at the foot of the longane tree behind that hall, or in the Blang stupa beside it. After some time they had their skulls crushed or their throats cut. Women were forced to kneel down on the edge of a ditch and present their children to the executioners. In their turn they were then beheaded and pushed into the ditch together with their little ones. At first the bodies were buried at some distance from the

pagoda; then closer and closer to it, until the ditches were dug at the very foot of the walls of the school building. Many prisoners had to dig their own graves”.

In those days Mr Chum Sary worked in a corner of the grounds near the central building. He was often unwilling witness of scenes of torture, but he had to act as if he had seen nothing.

“It rent my heart to see how cruelly the monks were persecuted,” he says. “They were called parasites and exploiters and forced to kneel down before the altars. Then I heard the guards curse them: ‘So you were happy to be in holy orders? You hoped to reach the nirvana, didn’t you? Well, we’ll send you there all right!’ Or: ‘You want to show resistance, don’t you? I’ll teach you. You persist in believing in Buddha, don’t you? All right, you may now pray and call him to your rescue.’ Then one would hear horrible screams from the monks being executed. As a rule the executioners struck them on the head with the axle of an ox-cart. More than 200 monks died in this way. Their robes were thrown into a heap in the central worship hall.”

According to Mr Chum Sary, on the morning of 7 January 1979 when liberation forces entered Phnom Penh, there still remained about 200 prisoners in the pagoda. Before fleeing, Huon, the deputy head of Kien Svay district—renamed district 16 by the Khmers Rouges—came and ordered that all of them be executed. Then he ordered Chum Sary to drive him and the district chief—a woman named Ro—to Mount Urong in Kompong Speu province. Chum Sary was lucky enough to escape before he himself was executed.

Chum Sary's testimony is confirmed by Cheng Nheat, a 50-year-old local peasant. Here is what Cheng Nheat says: "The people of our commune were driven to Battambang and Pursat provinces. I was part of a group which was to be moved to Saan district in Kandal province. When the Khmers Rouge were later put to flight I was the first to come back to Chumpus K'ek. I found all the big trees cut down. Behind the school building were dead bodies of women and children lying in pools of blood. The monks' quarters were crammed with the dead bodies of men. The preaching hall had been turned into a kitchen and storeroom where there now lay heaps of garbage. The central hall had been wrecked and ransacked. Mutilated Buddha statues and objects of worship were scattered about, beside heaps of saffron robes. Together with three other returnees, Ta Moeun, Ta So, and Ta Suon, I picked up and counted the corpses — 173 in all. We found three survivors, whom we carried to a field hospital of the liberation forces. One of them, a woman, later died. The other two, both men, were saved. I don't know where they are now. We found a register bearing the names of 10,609 people who had been executed. We perused all the names to see if relatives and friends of ours were among them. Then one of us, fearing the return of the Khmers Rouges, burnt the book. Finally we cremated all the dead bodies we found in three separate groups: the men, the women, and the children. Then we put their ashes in the stupa yonder".

At Chumpus K'ek I was able to see how deeply the people venerated the monks. As the Venerable Koi Yann talked to me, sitting at the foot of a tree,

a crowd of adults of both sexes squatted around and listened to his words with respectful attention. And when Mr Son Nam, the 46-year-old French-speaking district chief, came, he bowed low before the bonze superior, his hands joined together in front of his face, before turning to shake hands with me. At another pagoda, Chup, located near the townlet of Suong, in Kompong Cham province, I witnessed the same marks of respect and religious fervour. When three bonzes recited prayers to request divine protection on my behalf, all elderly men present sat down on the floor, joined their hands together and, turning to me, also began chanting prayers.

According to Yong Sok, the 65-year-old bonze superior at Chup pagoda, 60 monks formerly lived there. Of them 30 were killed by the Khmers Rouges and the remaining 30 sent to do hard labour with a view to their "re-education". Only three of them survived; the others starved to death. The bonze superior owed his survival to the fact that he was assigned a relatively light job: to spin hemp and keep the books. He had none the less to work day and night, including Sundays, and subsisted on a diet of thin rice gruel. Those bonzes whose lives were spared by the Khmers Rouges had to give up living in pagodas and wearing their saffron robes. Now clothed in black, they had to do hard labour, whatever their age. Sometimes, out of malice, the Khmers Rouges forced them to eat a small piece of meat in violation of their religious vows. I was told that in Bung Tranh commune, Somrong district, Takeo province the bonzes were forced to marry women chosen by Angkar. Some flatly refused.

At least one of them was beaten to death according to the testimony of Bonze superior Nil Moni of Sonsom Koh pagoda in Phnom Penh: he was a monk named Hom, of Pour Angkhrom commune, Kompong Pisay district, Kompong Speu province.

It is common knowledge that Buddhism has been State religion in Kampuchea for at least five centuries. Nearly 85% of the population are devout Buddhists. According to 1960 statistics, there were 3,000 pagodas and 70,000 bonzes by that date. In 1975 the figures were 2,800 pagodas and 82,000 bonzes according to the Venerable Long Sim, one of the present leaders of the Buddhist Church, who has been a delegate to the recently held Asian Buddhist Congress in Ulan Bator. The pagoda was not only a place of worship but also a cultural and educational centre, a hospital for the sick, and a haven for the poor and those in search of religious solace. In Phnom Penh it also gave shelter to impecunious students. The bonzes enjoyed great prestige with the people. In many places they actively participated in the struggle for national freedom and independence. Pokumpao, the national hero who led the resistance to French colonialism in the late 19th century, was a Buddhist monk.

"When I took my vows and entered a pagoda," said the Venerable Long Sim, "I was 14. Now I am 68. All those years, I have never come across people who were as ferocious and impious as the Khmers Rouges. When Pol Pot came to power, I was a monk at Piem Ompral pagoda in Sangker commune, Rumdol district, Svay Rieng province. Owing to the horrors perpetrated by the black-shirted ruffians, I had to take refuge in Vietnam. Of the 29 bonzes of

Piem Ompral pagoda only two survived. I am one of the two. I have not been able to meet the other survivor. By late 1978 when I joined the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, Pol Pot men had killed all members of my family, except one of my nieces. At present the Buddhist Church is trying to restore pagodas, but there remain only 329 bonzes above 50 years of age to join in this work."

In the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea proclaimed on 5 January 1976, Chapter 15, dealing with religion and worship, contained a single article, numbered 20, which read as follows:

"Every citizen of Kampuchea has the right to adopt and practise a religion, just as he has the right to adopt and practise none.

"All reactionary religion harmful to Democratic Kampuchea and its people is strictly forbidden."

The Pol Pot clique was to consider Buddhism a "reactionary" religion.

Death to Chams !

Kampuchea is a multi-national country. By early 1970, the total population was 7,300,000, among them 150,000 Moslems, 70,000 montagnards, 450,000 Vietnamese, and 450,000 Chinese, the Khmer majority accounting for 85% of the total. The status of the Vietnamese and Chinese communities was an ambiguous one. They were considered neither foreign nationals nor ethnic minorities.

The appellations Islam Khmers or Moslem Khmers, and those of Loeu Khmers or Montagnard Khmers were official denominations used under

the regime of Prince Sihanouk. That of Islam Khmers applied to the Chams and the small number of Malays living in the country. They lived on the banks of the Mekong and the Tonle Sap. The montagnard ethnic groups were the Bret, Buno, Rhong, Stieng, Brao, Tampoun, Kravet, Por and Kuoy, almost all of them proto-Indochinese according to ethnological terminology. They lived in the northeastern and southwestern parts of the country. The fact that the individual names of those groups were suppressed and a common denomination given to them all was evidence enough of the will of the rulers to assimilate them. This trend was exacerbated under Pol Pot.

The 1976 Khmer Rouge Constitution said nothing about the ethnic minorities. Not a single article or paragraph was devoted to them. Against them the Pol Pot regime was to carry out a policy of thorough-going Khmerisation through violence, without waiting for progressive integration. They were forbidden to use their languages, practise their cults and follow their habits and customs. Driven from their habitats, they were integrated into people's communes run by Khmer core elements. To quote only one example: in the two provinces of Stung Treng and Koh Kong, two bases of Khmer Rouge resistance against the Lon Nol regime, the "first-category citizens" and the "grass-roots masses" were sent away for "political studies". Only on liberation day was it learnt that they had all been massacred in the jungle, leaving on the ground small personal objects that their relatives easily recognized. The cadres of minority origin, in spite of their record in the struggle for

national independence, were exterminated one after another. Minority groups that survived the massacres had to migrate to neighbouring countries or take refuge in the forest where they were to lead a primitive life.

The Chams in particular, and on a larger scale the Moslem Khmers, were subjected to discrimination, ill treatment and savage persecution. Between Khmers and Chams there existed deep-going racial hatred which the least pretext would inflame, provoking bloodshed. Before and during the Sihanouk regime, in many places, the regional authorities, with the complicity and even the encouragement of the central administration, organized pogroms of Chams. The Pol Pot regime went even further. Cham people, like Vietnamese, became the number-one enemy. They suffered an even more tragic fate than former Lon Nol officers and soldiers.

"The Khmers Rouges accused us of two crimes," said Mr Sith Sakariya. "Being Cham and being Moslem. Personally I was guilty of a third one: that of being a former civil servant in Phnom Penh. Allah's blessing allowed me to survive. All my family was driven from Phnom Penh to Svai Bukao in Taches commune, Kompong Trabek district, Kompong Chhnang province. On the way there, my wife, who wore her hair long like all Cham women, cut it short the Khmer way. All of us changed our names into Khmer ones: I became Doeun, my wife Sarey, my mother Am, my two sons Voeun and Ai. On 5 October 1975, the Khmers Rouges, acting upon the report of their agents, decided to execute me as Cham and former Lon

Nol civil servant. I protested my innocence. Kind-hearted people of Svai Bakao saved my life by affirming that I was Khmer and a blacksmith."

Mr Sith Sakariya, 29, was a graduate of the Khmer-Soviet Friendship Technical Institute and secretary-general of the Islamic Organization of Kampuchea. I met him at the Chrang Chamre commune, nine kilometres from Phnom Penh. Here 12,000 Chams had assembled, coming from all corners of the country following the flight of the Khmers Rouges. When I arrived, a crowd of elderly people and children had come together outside a meeting hall being decorated by young people with palm leaves and slogans. One of the latter was written in the Roman alphabet and read: "Selamat mender", which I was told means "Festival of Happiness". Others were written in Arabic and were about Allah, Mahomet and the Koran.

"We are making preparations for the Ramadan," said Mr Sith Sakariya. "We Cham people make our living by fishing and rice-growing. We suffered harsh oppression. Yet some of our young people managed to receive higher Islamic education in Cairo and make a pilgrimage to Mecca. We Cham make up, as you may already know, a closed community deeply attached to its religious faith and traditional habits and customs. We cannot do without daily prayers. For us pork is taboo. For centuries our women have worn their hair long. Cutting it short will greatly offend them. In what way could such customs have harmed the Khmers? And yet we have never been left alone. My father, Sith Haroun, was killed in 1975, under the Lon

Nol regime. He was 70. We had hoped that under the Khmers Rouges we would be left in peace. Alas, our fate became worse. My mother was killed on 30 July 1976. Her crime: she had said her prayers, thinking nobody was listening. On 15 March 1977 came the turn of my brother Sith Polean, a law graduate, and one of our nephews. They had committed the imprudence of talking to each other in Cham. My youngest brother, Sith Daodu, a student in agriculture, was executed on 8 July 1978 for having refused to eat pork. This betrayed his religion. In late 1978, having got wind of the Khmers Rouges' intention to exterminate all Chams after the harvest of 1979, we took special precautions to dissimulate our ethnic origin. On 20 January 1979, two weeks after the liberation of Phnom Penh from the Khmer Rouge yoke, our torturers, before taking to flight, marched all Chams they had detected in Svai Bakao to the foot of Mount Ach Sat where they were ordered to dig their own graves. Fortunately the revolutionary forces came in time to save them."

The hardest trial for the Chams was the fact that they were forced to renounce their religion. Their torturers usually began by ordering them at gunpoint to eat pork in contravention of their faith. Anyone who refused or vomited were killed on the spot or taken to some unknown destination. Those who were caught praying, reading the Koran, or practising their religion in any way in their home at night, were liable to the death sentence. That was what happened to Mr Sith Sakariya's mother. All seized copies of the Koran were burnt. Anyone trying to hide one was executed. All 114

mosques in Kampuchea were ransacked, the principal ones razed or dynamited. The remaining ones were turned into storehouses for manure, pigsties, prisons, etc. In Phnom Penh where there existed 30 mosques, it has been possible to restore only five, provisionally. The Moslem priests were tracked down and cruelly persecuted. All Cham religious leaders were killed: the chief, Hari Roslos; the first deputy, Hachi Sleyman Sokri; the second deputy, Rachi Matobo Sleyman; the former president of the central committee of the Islamic Association of Kampuchea, Hachi Matly Haron...

To the People's Revolutionary Tribunal which held hearings in Phnom Penh from 15 to 19 August 1979 on the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique were sent dozens of pieces of testimony related to the extremely barbarous tortures inflicted on Cham people. A habitual practice was for the black-clad ruffians to surround Cham hamlets and bombard them with rocket-launchers or mortars. The wounded and survivors were bound and abandoned in the forest where they would starve to death or become the prey of wild beasts. In hamlets lying along the Mekong in the districts of Krauchmar (Kompong Cham province) and Khlong (Kratie province) the victims were bound together in groups of 5 to 10, attached to blocks of stone and pushed into the river. In Stung Trang district, Kompong Cham province, a bamboo monkeys' bridge was thrown across a ravine called Chros Stung Trang, 50-70 metres deep, then Cham prisoners were bound and ordered to cross it. Each time one of them fell to his death to the bottom of the ravine, their Khmer Rouge torturers would roar

with laughter. Into that abyss were also rolled lorries loaded with Chams. According to the testimony of local people, there must lie about 20,000 corpses at the bottom of Chros Stung Trang.

In fact, as early as the days of anti-American resistance, Cham people had been executed en masse in regions under Khmer Rouge control. In 1973, in the districts of Krauchmar (Kompong Cham) and Khlong (Kratie) thousands of Moslems conducted by their religious leaders demonstrated against ethnic discrimination, the requisition of mosques, the forcible eating of pork. They were savagely repressed. Similar events happened in 1974 in the "liberated areas" of Kompong Thom and Kompong Speu. As soon as they had won power throughout the country the Khmers Rouges arrested all Moslem religious leaders and killed large numbers of them, along with former Lon Nol officers and soldiers.

In general the Pol Pot administration broke up Cham communities and scattered their members all over the country, forbidding them to communicate with one another and destroying them piecemeal without provoking any agitation. But in some regions pogroms were ordered and openly carried out, such as in the districts of Krauchmar, Kompong Seam, Koong Meas, Thong Khmum, Ponhea Krek, Chamcar Loeu, Kompong Svai, Kosphol (Kompong Cham province), Khlong (Kratie province), Kompong Trolach (Kompong Chhnang), Russay (Pursat province), etc. According to a survivor, Doctor Abdul Kodom, the most bloody persecutions took place in Kompong Cham province. Of the 20,000 people who lived in Cham villages in Kompong

Seam district, not one has so far returned. Of roughly the same number of people who inhabited seven villages in Koong Meas district, only four have survived.

On the bank of the Mekong, in Krauchmar district of the same province, a Cham village named Kos Phal (Prosperity Island) was destroyed and renamed Kos Phès, which means Island of Cinders.

Disobedience to Angkar ? The penalty is death

When American blacks call themselves "second-class citizens" one understands that they are being ironical about American democracy. Yet that society does not dare to classify its citizens into categories, at least in its legislation. But Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea had little regard for public opinion, both at home and abroad. Right from the first days of that regime, the population was divided into two categories: the "old people", who lived in regions under Khmer Rouge control before 17 April 1975; and the "new people", who comprised the populations of the towns, cities, and their outskirts, which had remained under Lon Nol control till the last moments of that regime. Later, a third category came into being: that of the collaborators of the Lon Nol administration and their families. At the same time there appeared the concept of the "basic people", i.e. poor and lower-middle peasants, who were considered to be the foundations of the new society in strict accordance with the Maoist doctrine.

From that distinction should the conclusion be drawn that "old people" and "basic people" enjoyed a favoured treatment? Yes, but only to a certain extent. Thus "basic people" were put at the head of labour teams, agricultural cooperatives, people's communes, they were allowed to join the army, become medical nurses and assistants; they were entrusted with surveillance of suspects and could denounce people as such. The "old people", who were not all poor or lower-middle peasants, were difficult to define. Their rights and prerogatives seemed to be more theoretical than real. In regions peopled with ethnic minorities, even "old people" were driven to other areas for the purpose of mixing populations; they were sent away for "political studies" and were severely punished for any lack of zeal in executing the orders of Angkar.

To this day no single word haunts and obsesses the minds of the people more than this word Angkar. In Khmer, it means "organization". It designated the party of Pol Pot. But as the sphere of activity of that party was ill-defined, so was the content of the word Angkar. In its broadest implications, it denoted the party and the administration — political power generally speaking. It designated nobody by name. Some Kampuchean intellectuals regarded it as a myth, a kind of purely metaphysical power, omnipresent and likely to fill everyone with terror, including those who were speaking in its name. It was in the name of Angkar that the heads of production brigades, presidents of farming cooperatives, Party secretaries in people's communes, administrative regions and military

zones, as well as the highest-ranking officials, gave orders or meted out punishment (rewards were neglected by the Khmers Rouges). But those who were now acting in its name could well be its victims to-morrow. As for Angkar Loeu, it was the Upper Organization, the super-myth, something even more terrible. Those who were summoned before that awesome authority never came back.

The Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea had established the three powers: executive, legislative, and judiciary. But none of them was operative, or was ever organized. All activities of the State were in the hands of Angkar. The "Organization" decided everything; its power, of radical simplicity, operated through verbal instructions in the disorderly and arbitrary manner peculiar to peasants. It was a crime not to obey an order from Angkar, even though it might only be a verbal one. The culprit, even though he might be a member of the "old people" category, a soldier of the revolutionary forces, or a Khmer Rouge cadre, would be immediately put to death. With luck he might only receive a warning, but in case of relapse death was inevitable. As it was Angkar's intention to govern all social activities in minute detail, the least misdemeanour, either by one of the common people or by a cadre, could be interpreted as a refusal to obey Angkar's orders and involve the direst consequences.

"I was accused of that crime," says Nuol Thok, a 26-year-old girl native of Chat Sat, Chikranh commune, Chikranh district, Siem Reap province, "because I refused to marry the husband Angkar

chose for me. The first time it was the district's military commander; the second time a legless war invalid. After my second refusal, I was thrown into prison. At the jail in Siem Reap I was cruelly beaten up during three interrogations. Once, in June 1977, my torturers stripped me naked and tried to rape me. But I fiercely resisted their attempts. Several of my unfortunate companions, however, were raped then killed."

And yet Nuol Thok was a member of the first category of citizens, better still, of the revolutionary armed forces. At the age of 18 she had joined in the anti-American resistance. Enlisted in the Khmer Rouge armed forces in June 1971, she was put at the head of a 300-member female brigade of the Shock Youth.

Before Nuol Thok told me her story I had heard many similar ones, but the victims had all been members of the "new people" category, who were not regarded as full-fledged citizens and could be subjected to the most arbitrary treatment.

The most tragic of those stories was that of twenty young widows native of Phnom Penh who had been driven to Krala, Kompong Seam district, Kompong Cham province. Among them was Nguon Vuoch Ny, who held a bachelor degree in literature and was a teacher in a secondary school. All twenty young women had had their husbands killed by the Khmers Rouges. Now they were ordered to marry Khmer Rouge war invalids. All of them refused. Nguon Vuoch Ny killed herself drinking a brew of poisonous vegetal substance. Her 19 companions were gang-raped then massacred.

Was charged with the same crime of disobedience to Angkar the hungry little boy who dared to go and catch some fish from the river. He was caught while grilling his fish and was executed. Were found guilty of the same felony those couples who dared to fall in love with each other without authorization from Angkar. One of them — a young man named Sophon and his sweetheart — instead of having their skulls broken with an ox-cart axle according to the usual procedure, were tortured to death. According to an eyewitness, Mr. Nhen Hen, 45, a native of Stung Chrau, Kompong Preah Koki commune, Kompong Chhnang province, the two lovers sneaked away to a solitary place during work hours. They were caught by a Pol Pot soldier who gave them punishment on the spot. Sophon was bound under his arm-pits with a metal wire and suspended from a tree branch. Then straw was heaped under him and set afire. He was burnt to death. A projectile from an American M.79 grenade-launcher was rammed into the vagina of the young woman, who was then kicked until she died. Similar stories were told me by other eye-witnesses.

The odious measures taken by Angkar and the sanguinary cruelty of its agents gave rise to popular revolts in many localities. Most were drowned in blood. Resistance was organized at an early date right within the party and the armed forces. According to several sources, an opposition core came into existence in September 1976. It was composed of Chakray, a standing member of the Party Central Committee, senior deputy head of the General Staff, and commander of the Phnom Penh special military region; several commanders of

military regions; and secretaries of Party regional committees. In February 1977, that group started an insurrection, but Chakray was killed and three other leaders captured. The latter were bound up in tarred felt and burnt to death in the Phnom Penh city stadium.

"I was an eye-witness of the fate that befell opponents of Angkar," says Vang Pheap. "I was a squad leader in the army company entrusted with guarding the Tuol Sleng prison. There political suspects were detained, interrogated and murdered. The prison stood only 300 metres from the Chinese embassy and was linked to it by a direct telephone line. About 1,000-1,200 prisoners were kept there at a time. They were interrogated and exterminated in groups at intervals of a fortnight or a month. Their bodies were buried in areas near the prison building or in the fields of Prey So, Don Cao district, Kandal province. There ditches had been dug beforehand, four metres long, two wide and 1.5 deep. The victims were taken to the edge of those ditches. There their executioners broke their skulls with an iron bar, ripped up their bellies to extract their gall-bladders, then threw their bodies into the common grave. In 1977 the tempo was stepped up: 130-150 executions a day. The army company guarding the prison was code-named Unit 212-S21. I served in it from December 1975 to June 1976. At that date one of the prisoners took his own life by hanging. Our squad was suspected of having helped him to escape in this way the penalty reserved for him by Angkar. So we were thrown into prison. As I was quite familiar with every nook

and cranny of the jail I was able to escape. I went to join the revolutionary forces in the forest."

Vang Pheap, 29, is at present chief-of-staff of the armed forces in Kandal province. He was my guide when I visited the Tuol Sleng prison, which had been housed in a former secondary school in Phnom Penh. There the Pol Pot clique murdered about 12,000 of the best sons and daughters of Kampuchea, among them renowned intellectuals, army officers from company to field grades, Party cadres from the level of the district to that of the Central Committee, diplomats who had served in the days of Sihanouk, Lon Nol, and the RGNUC (Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia) during the anti-American resistance. Since an interesting parallel could be drawn between the crimes perpetrated at Tuol Sleng and the mysterious liquidation of Son Ngoc Minh, the president of the People's Revolutionary Party, in Peking, the declarations of Vang Pheap on the collusion of the Pol Pot clique and their killers at Tuol Sleng with the Chinese embassy in Phnom Penh are quite trustworthy.

The bloody purges conducted among the Khmers Rouges themselves were directed against people accused of being "agents of the CIA, the KGB, or the Vietnamese". They were to be liquidated according to the motto of the "three kills". Of course in order to murder their former comrades, the Pol Pot clique charged them with treason. One gets a hint of the scope of those purges by listening to Nhat Huon, 33, former deputy political commissar of the autonomous company of Region 21 in Military

Zone 203, at present deputy commander of the Second Detachment of the People's Armed Forces.

"In 1975", says Nhat Huon, "my company had 160 men, and the military forces of Region 21 numbered 3,000. Of my company only three survived; of the forces of Region 21 there remain only 16 or 17 people, among them Hun Sen, the present Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. The most bloody purges happened in 1976. Angkar took away small groups of people at a time, under the pretext of "political studies", and killed them. On 20 June 1977 lorries came to the region to pick up several dozens of cadres. Hardly had they climbed onto the trucks when they were bound. They were then taken to an unknown destination, certainly to be liquidated. Immediately after that event, I fled into the forest".

Those mass murders reached a peak following the abortive revolt of 25 May 1978 in Military Zone 203. The Pol Pot clique mustered some of their most loyal troops in Kandal province and ordered them to raze to the ground many hamlets in Kompong Cham, Prey Veng and Svay Rieng. To this day mass graves have been uncovered in wells and former American bomb craters in those three provinces.

"Khaimoni", the best of fertilizers

In his well-known book *Kaputt* on Hitlerite and European fascism during World War Two, the Italian writer Curzio Malaparte relates the original way in which the S.S. recruited their elite units.

The candidates were ordered to seize a cat by the scruff of the neck with one hand, and with a pointed knife held in the other gouge out its eyes while the poor animal shrieked with pain. Not the least hesitation should be shown.

The Khmers Rouges had neither time nor desire to recruit their killers in this way. But their hangmen were in no way inferior in cruelty to Hitler's. At a teach-in held by Kampuchean intellectuals in Phnom Penh — all the participants being well-informed about fascist crimes through their readings and having had personal experience of Khmer Rouge neo-fascism — I heard many such remarks as, "The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique outdid Hitler and his butchers in savagery. It was their own compatriots that they massacred and this by using even more barbarous means than gas chambers or the gallows".

One must admit that the Khmers Rouges enjoyed a fertile imagination concerning the ways to 'do away with their victims. Some of the means used were certainly as modern as those of the S.S.: hundreds and even thousands of people are known to have been mown down at a time with automatic weapons, mortars, B.40 and B.41 rocket-launchers, etc.

I had personally visited the Buchenwald camp. My guide, a former prisoner at the camp, still shuddered as he showed me a wooden club the torturers had used to break the skulls of their victims. The Khmers Rouges were at least as medieval-minded. They employed very crude instruments for their murders: a bamboo stick, a hoe, a spade, an axe, an ox-cart axle... They indulged in ferocities

unknown to their Hitlerite predecessors: cutting people's throats, disembowelling them, extracting their livers, gouging out their eyes (human eyes, not cat's !)... They burnt or buried their victims alive, bound them up and laid them on nests of red ants. They tied a prisoner up and put his head in a plastic bag which they closed with a string. With what sadistic joy they watched the throes of their victim being asphyxiated! Dr Abdul Kodom, a Cham survivor, saw Khmers Rouges in Kompong Cham put Cham babies in plastic bags which they tightly closed and suspended to a tree branch, just "for fun". The same witness reports having seen Khmers Rouges fill the bottom of a dried-up well with straw and dry coconut-palm leaves, throw five Cham children into the well, pour gasoline on them and set fire to them. Another witness, Mr Sim Phea, declares having seen Khmers Rouges in Siem Reap repeatedly feed infants to crocodiles.

That's how three million human beings died. From hunger, from disease, from violence. But what was to be done about the piles of bodies? The Khmers Rouges proved that they too could run their extermination undertaking with efficiency. They stripped the dead of their clothes, kept the best for themselves and distributed the rest to the population as gifts from Angkar. Of course they kept the valuables, too: wrist-watches, jewels... which they shared among themselves. Their behaviour inevitably recalled that of the Hitlerites. Like these, they thought of turning their victims' dead bodies into fertilizer. But while the Hitlerites incinerated them in specially-built ovens, industrial

style, the Khmers Rouges were content with handicraft methods.

"To incinerate the bodies," says Mrs Moeun Ni, "the Khmers Rouges had ditches dug about half a kilometre from our camp. They set up barriers and posted sentries to prevent us from getting anywhere near those places. But what with listening to our guards' conversations, looking at the smoke rising into the sky, and smelling the acrid odour of burning flesh, how could we fail to guess what was being done there?"

Mrs Moeun Ni, thirtyish, is a native of Kompong Thkau, Kralanh district, Siem Reap province. She was kept in a camp from 1976 to liberation in early 1979. According to her testimony, large numbers of prisoners were brought each day by ox-cart or lorry. The Khmers Rouges tied them together in groups and took them to the foot of the mountains. There they broke their skulls, stripped them of their clothes and threw their bodies into ditches for incineration: one layer of corpses, one layer of paddy husks. When the ditch was filled to the brim, they poured gasoline on them and set fire to them. The cinders and ashes were put through a sieve. The fertilizer thus obtained was called *khaimoni* and was used for the experimental growing of new strains of rice in vanguard people's communes. When they were put to flight, the Khmers Rouges left behind a register containing the names of 8,600 people whose bodies had been incinerated in the way described above. Eight ditches for the making of *khaimoni* are still to be seen in Kompong Thkau, at the foot of the hills, 55 km, from the town of Siem Reap. The largest is 14.5 metres long, 9 wide, and 1.5

deep. They still contain half-burnt human bones mixed with ashes and unburnt paddy husks.

Let us listen to another witness reporting on this subject of *khaimoni* preparation. Mrs Khem Nary, 28, native of Phnom Penh, is a former member of the Kampuchean Red Cross and used to be in contact with the International Red Cross headquarters in Geneva. Driven from the capital together with her husband and two children, she was put to hard labour in Prey Lvea commune, Prey Kabas district, Takeo province, on the border with Vietnam. Here is what she told me :

"My husband was killed by the Khmers Rouges allegedly for disobedience to the authorities ; so was my son some time later for having stolen an ear of maize in a field. He was driven to that crime by hunger. For having grieved over their deaths, I was accused of opposition to Angkar and thrown into prison at Tlok Pussey. After having escaped the capital punishment by a hair's breadth, I was assigned to the making of fertilizer together with 200 other people. Our daily work was to unearth the bodies in the incineration ditches. The charred remains were put through a sieve and the ashes collected. If unburnt and undecomposed bits of flesh still adhered to the bones, we had to detach them with our fingers, mix them with cattle dung and leave them to ferment."

Khem Nary is a handsome woman, of purely Khmer beauty. Looking at her tapered fingers I could not help imagining them running on the keyboard of a piano. And yet they had been used to snatch bits of human flesh from the bones of corpses !

"It was horrible work," she said, shivering. "But to refuse would mean having one's skull broken and one's flesh turned into fertilizer. At the end of the day's work, there was no soap to wash one's hands with before using them to put one's food to one's mouth. I had no change of clothes, and so the stench of the corpses stayed with me even in my sleep. Like my companions in misfortune, I had the skin of my forearms eaten by a kind of fungus, and I could calm my itch only by scratching myself until blood oozed. But that was not the end of my calvary. One day our group was ordered to go and take bodies from a ditch. Some of my companions looked at me and I saw deep pity in their eyes. I questioned them and eventually got the truth from them: in the ditch were the bodies of my husband and my son. I collapsed and fainted. And ever since then, I would wake up at night screaming and would be unable to sleep again."

The author of these lines had personally witnessed, in a certain region, the transformation of human remains into fertilizer. In that region, the dead were not immediately buried. They were put in coffins, and the coffins were kept in a mortuary on the edge of the village. There were holes at the bottom of the coffins and from these holes a blackish liquid would ooze out which was collected in earthenware vessels and used to fertilize fields and gardens. And when the flesh began to decompose, bits of it were fed to the fish in breeding-ponds...

"That was what was done in the southern part of the Chinese province of Guangxi," I said to Mrs Nary. However, the skeletons were not profaned.

The bones were piously put in small coffins of baked earth, which were then interred. I visited the region in 1953. The people were poor, the soil barren. It was not impossible for me to understand the reason for such a custom, abominable though it was. But what I cannot understand is that an industry of sorts could have been created here in Kampuchea with a view to the processing of human remains into manure.

It was in the name of the revolution that everything was done in Kampuchea in the days of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. It was in the name of the revolution that three million people were put to death. Again, it was in the name of the revolution that human bodies were turned into *khaimoni*!

The ideal society according to Angkar

One morning in July, taking a stroll in the shade of the flame-trees in front of the Vietnamese embassy building in Phnom Penh, I had occasion to enter into a conversation with a young woman, who asked for my address before we parted. At noon the same day, in company with her husband, she came to see me. Her name was Chan Tevy and her husband's Srey Sokhom. She was a telephone operator and he a former secondary school teacher. Both are now working in the department of Sports and Physical Culture under the Ministry of Culture. We talked in French and they gave me a more detailed view of what life had been like in the time of Pol Pot.

"With our three daughters, now aged 12, 6 and 4," said Mr Sokhom, "we were driven to Don Yay hamlet, Chouk district, Kampot province, near the border with Vietnam. There were about 500 people in the hamlet, most of them driven there from Phnom Penh, like us. We had to give up our former occupations and till the land. We had no choice for Angkar had so decided."

"How was the work organized?" I asked.

"An agricultural cooperative on the pattern of Chinese people's communes was set up in the hamlet. We lived like soldiers in a barrack, each production brigade being counted a unit. Men and women lived separate, in labour teams of 12 members each, commanded by a chief recruited among the 'basic people'. Each team worked, ate, and were housed together. The cooperative was directed by a president, a vice-president and a secretary, all three recruited from among the 'basic people'. In theory, all the needs of the labourers were looked after by the cooperative: food, housing, clothing, medical care. But that was beyond the capacity of Angkar."

"What did the work consist of and how did the toilers fare?"

"We had to grow rice, the more the better, and carry out rudimentary water conservancy work. 'When one has rice, one has everything', says Angkar. Then we would proceed to animal husbandry. Rice exports would buy machines and make it possible to industrialize the country. But all this is for the future. For the moment we had to till the fields in the traditional way and use our hands.

In our country there are two seasons in the year. So we grew rice in the rainy season and built water control works in the dry season."

Then my guest told me about a system of work with various proportions of labour force employed, area tilled, and time allowed. His description was rather confused and I understood little of it. Fortunately I had occasion the day before to talk to Mr Seng Teng, a medical cadre at the "January 7" Hospital. He had explained to me that in Pol Pot's time, he was a member of a 15-man production team to whom was entrusted the task of working (ploughing, harrowing, or transplanting) three hectares of ricefields a day. If the work was not finished in the day, then they would have to continue at night. All witnesses agreed on that score.

"What was the work schedule?" I asked Mr Sokhom.

"We worked three periods a day: from 2 a.m. to 10 a.m.; then from 1.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m.; then again from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m. There was a break of 15 minutes in the morning and the afternoon. No Sundays. In theory we should have a day of rest every ten days; in fact this so-called rest day was devoted to political studies, which were such a strain on the mind that we would have preferred working in the fields."

Mr Seng Teng's schedule was only slightly different. Exiled to Takeo province, he had to work every day from 3 to 11 in the morning, from 1 to 5 in the afternoon, and from 7 to 9 in the evening.

"So you worked 14 hours a day," I said. "How much sleep were you entitled to?"

"Yes, 14 hours a day, sometimes more," Mr So Khom answered. "We were given four hours' sleep each day. Hardly had we closed our eyes when the gong resounded at one in the morning to call us to work. Stringent discipline was enforced and the least delay severely punished. So we decided to sleep close to the place where we were to work in the morning. In this way we usually gained about 15 minutes which we could devote to sleep."

"Where did you sleep? Did you enjoy the hospitality of nearby homes or did you set up temporary shelters?"

"We slept on the spot only when the place of work was far from our huts. Then we would lie down on the ground in the open or at the foot of a tree. There was no mosquito net in spite of swarms of those insects. We grew used to their bites. We were so exhausted and hungry we went to sleep as soon as we lay down. The bane of our nights was neither mosquitoes nor even rain, but the sound of the gong at 1 o'clock in the morning. Even now I would jump every time I hear the sound of a gong!"

Mr Seng Teng had to do the same kind of hard labour. He and his companions, he said, would sleep wherever they would have to work when morning came. They would spread some leaves on the ground for a bed. To keep the mosquitoes away, they would light a big fire and lie down in the direction in which the wind blew. The smoke would irritate their throats and make their eyes smart, but the essential thing was that they could sleep. Some of his companions had been able to

take mosquito nets along with them when they started out on their journey to the countryside, but they did not dare to use them for fear of being labelled "bourgeois elements" and made to suffer more ill-treatment.

"What about the food?" I asked Mr Sokhom.

"We had two meals a day; a bowl of rice gruel at each meal. We ate at the common eating-place, and men and women were kept separate. It was forbidden to do any individual cooking whatsoever. At first we suffered greatly from the gnawing pains of hunger; later we became more used to it although it was still most painful. Each day we had to steal bits of eatables here and there to soothe our tortured stomachs, taking great care not to be caught for penalties were very severe."

"What kind of family life did you have?"

"Family life? We had none of it. Husband and wife met only on very rare occasions. All children above three were taken away from their parents and kept in nurseries. One ran into no end of trouble trying to see one's children. The authorities would gruffly ask, 'Why should you want to see your child? You feel no confidence in Angkar?' My two older children were sent to a nursery. The youngest remained with my wife until she was 3. Angkar hated the family although official proclamations said nothing about it. Many people lamented over the prohibition of individual home cooking; they did not understand that this was only the result of the destruction of family life."

"Is it true that children were taught to rebel against their parents?"

"In the nurseries, they were taught that they were the children of Angkar, whom they should love and obey. The Khmers Rouges took advantage of their innocence and naivety to obtain from them information on their parents' present and past activities so as to devise more effective repressive measures against them. Children were encouraged to denounce their parents. Worse still, because of hatred of the family or some political motive, they were primed to bring specific accusations against them."

"How were women, old folk, and children treated?"

"Women worked in even harder conditions than men. Even during their menses, they had to flounder in the mud of the ricefields, with water coming up to their waist. Pregnant women had to toil until their time came. Barely one month after childbirth, they had to resume working, bringing their babies with them and laying them on the paddy dykes. Old women were put to work looking after the children; old men did basketwork. It was not hard work but they had to be at it 12-14 hours a day. Children 5-6 years old collected manure for the fields; older ones grazed oxen and buffaloes. The children received no schooling. All teachers had been massacred or were hiding their identities for fear of being murdered. School-buildings had been turned into storehouses for manure, pigsties, or even prisons."

"How were the sick cared for?"

"The Khmer Rouge principle was 'Whoever doesn't work shall not eat,'" said Mrs Sokhom. "Sick people were given only a small portion of the

miserable ration of food given to the workers. Doctors and even nurses were murdered because they had worked under the old regime. The Khmers Rouges had their own contingent of doctors and nurses recruited from among the 'basic people' and the illiterates. The nurses, 12-13 years old, were given one or two months' training; the doctors, 17-18, studied for two or three months. They gave injections without taking the most elementary sanitary precautions. In fact they injected whatever liquid was at hand: coconut-milk for instance instead of serum. They disdained the western medicines in their pharmaceutical stocks, claiming that nothing could equal the traditional herbal medicines."

Mrs Sokhom spoke at length about the upheavals in the people's customs and habits.

"We are Buddhists," she said, "but the Black-shirts, as you must know already, wrecked pagodas, massacred Buddhist monks, and made all religious worship impossible. Marriages were celebrated collectively, in groups of 50-100 couples at a time. Men and women came to the marriage ceremony without having the least idea whom they were going to marry. They were ordered to stand in two rows facing each other. Someone in the name of Angkar began reading names: one man's name and one woman's, and they were united by the bonds of wedlock. Recalcitrants were sent to 'political courses' and, if they persisted in their disobedience, were put to death. Many young women who were married against their will took their own lives."

Mr Sokhom went on to talk about the human relations between members of a labour team or a cooperative. He said:

“ Being classed ‘new people’ we were not allowed to have any contact with the local population. Among the latter, the ‘basic people’ included, there must have been honest and kind-hearted people. But they had been brainwashed to such an extent that they showed only contempt for us. Perhaps they also didn’t want to lose the few privileges given them by Angkar. But even among themselves there was no mutual trust. Many of them were overzealous elements who did not hesitate to harm their companions of misfortune. There can be no more terrible mental strain than the constant fear of being spied upon and denounced as counter-revolutionary. ”

One of my questions, which was about their relations with the outside world, brought a smile to the lips of my guests—the enigmatical Khmer smile. Finally, it was Mr Sokhom who answered my query.

“ It was forbidden for us to get away from the cooperative,” he said. “ We were not allowed to visit our relatives, even one who lived in the neighbouring hamlet. In fact, how could we ever visit our relatives since we never had a minute of respite ? This was even truer if the relative we wished to visit lived far away. All the relatively modern means of transport — buses, cars, motorcycles, motor-boats — had been abandoned and left to rust. In any event nobody wished to go anywhere to buy anything. Money had been suppressed ; the same with markets. We had lost all notion of the outside world and of course all ties with it. Radio sets had been confiscated and no newspaper was published. To

receive a letter was unthinkable since the postal service had stopped working. Some of us thought of fleeing. But where could they feed themselves in their journey? Only people living close to the border with Vietnam had any chance of escape. We were at the mercy of Angkar, which could put us to death or do anything it wished with us in exchange for a few crumbs of food. Our dependence on Angkar was even worse than that of the slave upon his master."

Mr Sokhon had the same enigmatic smile when I asked him about the local authorities and the notorious Blackshirts.

"On exceptional occasions," he said, "the cooperative killed an ox or a pig. The cadres ate their fill. As for us we got only the bones and the hide. The cadres took their meals in our refectory but need I tell you that they had much more to eat and besides could do their own cooking at home? They had a family life. Between their life and our calvary the difference was as great as that between day and night. That is why they were so afraid of losing their privileges. To come down was to sign their own death warrants, and they knew it. As for the Blackshirts, each hamlet had a group of these. Young people of 14-18 years of age, pitiless; vying with one another in violence and cruelty. They took malignant pleasure and pride in their behaviour."

I would have liked to ask my guests if during their four-year-long nightmare they had ever smiled or laughed, but I was afraid my question could be understood to be ironical. Hadn't a Western journalist had this comment on the 52-minute

documentary shot by the Yugoslav reporter Nicholas Victorovic in Democratic Kampuchea: "In all the film, one saw only one man laugh: Pol Pot, the Prime Minister and Party secretary!"

The Constitution of Pol Pot — Ieng Sary's Democratic Kampuchea said in its preamble: "Whereas the entire people and the revolutionary army of Kampuchea aspire to a Kampuchea that is independent, united, peaceful, neutral, non-aligned and sovereign in its territorial integrity; to a society in which reign happiness, equality, justice and genuine democracy, with neither rich nor poor, with neither exploiter nor exploited classes, a society in which the entire people live in harmony and national union and jointly participate in production and in the building and defence of the country..."

This was to promise, if not paradise, at least its antechamber. But it had nothing to do with what the Sokhoms and hundreds of other Kampucheans told me they had lived through.

Whence the black death ?

Why so much cruelty and violence, so many humans massacred, so many lives wrecked ?

I had put that inevitable question to many Khmer Rouge cadres who had crossed over to our side while war was still raging along the Vietnam-Kampuchea border. Their answers agreed on most points. Let me quote for instance the opinion of Mr Yos Po, a Khmer communist native of Kampot province who had fought in the two wars of resistance against the French and the Americans. I had

met him at Ben San six months before three elite Pol Pot divisions were destroyed when they tried to invade the Vietnamese province of Tay Ninh, and the Kampuchean people rose up everywhere like wild fire. Mr Yos Po, one of the people who actively participated in the setting up of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, is now a counsellor in the Ministry of Culture, Information and Press. Worth mentioning is the fact that he had studied in China in the days of the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" in the philosophy department of the Chongqing Teachers' College. Here is what he told me :

" All the violence and cruelty stemmed from fear. The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary — Son Sen clique were afraid. Afraid of the genuine revolutionaries, afraid of the people ! They had above all usurped the leadership of the Khmer People's Revolutionary Party, which sprang from the Indochinese Communist Party. The so-called Kampuchean Communist Party which they later founded was at the origin of the bloody tragedy which unfolded in Kampuchea from 1975 onwards. During the war of resistance against the French, when revolutionary cadres clung to the soil of the fatherland and endured untold sacrifices, those gentlemen were regarded as revolutionary-minded intellectuals. They did not participate in the resistance but studied in France from 1949 to 1954. After the signing of the Geneva Agreements they hurriedly returned home and by dint of machination and intrigue wormed their way into our Party then into its leading body. Following the assassination in mysterious circumstances, as yet not unraveled, of

Tou Samouth, our secretary-general, Pol Pot acceded to the supreme post. A parallel should be drawn between Tou Samouth's death and that of President Son Ngoc Minh in 1972 in Beijing where he had been invited for medical treatment. Pol Pot gradually appointed Ieng Sary, Son Sen and his other accomplices to key positions in the Party. As early as 1973, while continuing to woo Vietnam for the assistance he needed, he already rallied behind him young elements whom he urged to oppose older revolutionary cadres thought to be pro-Vietnamese. The latter were summoned to 'political courses' and liquidated on the sly. I myself had to flee their murderous madness. Their bloody repression of the last rebellion in the Eastern Military Zone only confirms the fact that they feared not only uncontaminated revolutionary elements within the Party but also the masses of the people."

What better evidence of their panic than the forced exodus of the 2.5 million people of Phnom Penh! There was no doubt that the Pol Pot clique, panic-stricken at the thought of both the CIA agents and the urban masses of Phnom Penh whom they deemed themselves incapable of subduing, overestimated the opposition forces. Some people also think that the Pol Pot clique, like the peasant masses, were driven by inveterate hatred of city-dwellers whom they considered to be supporters of imperialism from which they drew profits and privileges. It should be recalled that during the Kampuchean people's war of liberation from 1970 to 1975, neither of the opposing camps—Lon Nol

and the Khmers Rouges — took prisoners. Captured enemy soldiers were put to death, thus exacerbating hatred between the two sides. At any rate, fear, hatred and vengefulness are all psychological factors.

“I perceive another cause of a more general character,” Mr. Yos Po added. “This more fundamental cause which governed the whole problem and dictated their political line to the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary — Son Sen clique was the introduction of Maoism into Kampuchean political mores. The Pol Pot clique servilely obeyed Mao’s class politics, constantly stressing the thesis that poor and lower-middle peasants were to form the basis of the Kampuchean revolution. Naturally, like their master Mao, they loudly proclaimed that they were conducting a proletarian revolution. But in fact their revolution was but a peasant jacquerie. After liberation in 1975, it became an adventurous undertaking leading to an anarchic dislocation of social institutions, a forward flight governed by a voluntarism which naively believed itself capable of skipping the successive stages in its pursuit of utopian objectives. Wasn’t its mobilization of teenagers without any experience of life and without any revolutionary consciousness a faithful replica of Mao’s movement of the ‘Little Red Guards’? Again in imitation of Mao, the Khmers Rouges organized people’s communes and mobilized popular masses to work in the place of farming machines, forcing them to toil day after day and month after month without any respite, eventually reaping insignificant results not commensurate with the energies applied. Still

copying Mao, they dislocated the Party's organization, rejected the principles of democratic centralism, criticism and self-criticism, and resorted to political slanders to suppress comrades holding different views from their own".

Pol Pot himself proclaimed his subservience at a reception in Beijing on 28 September 1977 in these terms: "We have applied with creativeness and success Mao Zedong thought to the realities of Kampuchea. For Kampuchea, the most precious Chinese aid is Mao Zedong thought."

Renmin Ribao of 3 October 1977 published this declaration from the same man:

"It is inspired by the works of Mao Zedong that we have discovered the political line suited to the concrete situation and the context of Kampuchea. This line was approved by the first congress of the the Party in Phnom Penh on 30 June 1960".

Maoism found zealous disciples in the neo-fascist clique of Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and Son Sen. Pan-Han hegemonic expansionism worked in close collusion with pan-Khmer chauvinism, turning the little Kampuchean ally into a tool for Chinese conquest and domination in Indochina and Southeast Asia. Beijing sent to Kampuchea large quantities of weapons and tens of thousands of advisers to train and officer the 23 army divisions of the Khmers Rouges. And this without mentioning the innumerable road-builders, in fact camouflaged infantry and artillery units. The war started by the Khmers Rouges along our southwestern frontier was in fact a Chinese war, bankrolled and controlled by Beijing. According to Chinese calculations, Vietnam would

be caught in a vice, whose southern jaw was Kampuchea and northern jaw, China. The main role was naturally played by China whose aggression from the north was to be combined with that by Kampuchea from the southwest. The Pol Pot clique knew better than anyone else that they would never have dared attack Vietnam if left to themselves. In the back of their minds they also hoped to reconquer, with help from their colossal ally and master in the north, part of the territory they had lost a thousand years ago in the time of the builders of Angkor!

"Pan-Khmer chauvinism had thought it could take advantage of Chinese aid," said Mr Yos Po, "to satisfy its ambitions, but it failed to see that in fact it was playing right into the hands of China by turning the Kampucheans into mercenaries. Of course the Khmers Rouges massacred a large number of Chinese residents, which greatly irritated Beijing. But the latter had to swallow this bitter pill by persuading itself that it was a price it had to pay. In spite of some disagreement concerning details, the Pol Pot clique proved themselves to be faithful lackeys of Beijing. It was obvious that the crimes perpetrated all over Kampuchea could not escape the watchful eyes of the 300 members of the Chinese embassy in Phnom Penh, which besides got information from the many Chinese advisers and road-builders working in the country. At the very least China was guilty of complicity in the Kampuchean genocide. It acted on the sly, giving the green light and pulling the wires with a view to carrying out its dark schemes in the long run but taking great care not to reveal them".

The Khmer Rouge model of "one-hundred-percent socialism with its breath-taking progress, wonderful leaps forward, and marvellous achievements" was but a variant of the Beijing exemplar. But on Kampuchean soil Beijing adventurism had come to a paroxysm. Money and market, i.e. the commodity economy, was suppressed together with all modern means from motor-car to telecommunications. The whole of society was pulled back to a primitive way of living. Theoreticians of the anarchistic left in the West could congratulate themselves on the fact that some ideas of theirs had been experimented on Kampuchean soil by the Khmers Rouges: a society without money, school, medical care, and with an industry that was decentralized to the level of rural and urban people's communes. Of course the promoter of a society without any school had taken care to indicate that "unschooling" does not mean "barbarization" and could always accuse Pol Pot of deviationism in the interpretation of his doctrine. But that is another story.

A veritable black death, Polpotism, was on the rampage in Kampuchea for three years, eight months and twenty days. At present a bill of indictment that merely enumerates the crimes committed will not satisfy public opinion. Enough time has gone by for the possibility to emerge of an exhaustive examination, an in-depth analysis of that doctrine and its nature.

What should we say then? Doctor Nguyen Khac Vien has depicted it as "the square of Maoism". No doubt he wishes to emphasize the degree of its

madness and the scope of the damage it caused. I am not a theoretician. So I shall be satisfied with listing three components of Polpotism: Maoism, pan-Khmer chauvinism, and some of the basic features of Western anarchistic leftism.

It was not the first time that socialism, whose prestige is rising ceaselessly, was exploited by an impostor. Hadn't Hitler invented national-socialism to deceive the masses and impart to his demagogic undertaking an idealistic veneer? Mao Zedong and his disciple Pol Pot merely followed on his footsteps. Their doctrines are nothing but a neo-fascism that is even more abominable, medieval, and moronic than classical fascism. Like the latter they are doomed to failure.

One remembers Hemingway's words: "Fascism is a lie fabricated by brutes." Perhaps we could, *mutatis mutandis*, call the neo-fascism under review "a lie fabricated by brutes of a new type"?

Phnom Penh — Hanoi, August 1979

LETTER FROM ANGKOR

NGUYEN KHAC VIEN

You may have seen these scenes many times on the cinema screen or in photographs, but you are greatly surprised when, in the midst of a dense forest with a canopy 30 to 40 metres high, you suddenly discover this majestic arrangement of walls and towers, these wide roadways bordered with nagas, gods and devils. To see these stone walls stretching over hundreds of metres their embroideries and statues, you start to wonder whether it is not a dream.

And when from the top of Phnom Bakheng you see, still embedded in a magnificent forest, the twin cities of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom, when the many faces of the Bayon surround you from all sides with their smile — or is it really a smile? — when you climb up the steps hardly worn by centuries of history, your imagination starts irresistibly flying back through time to be lost in quite unreal considerations.

But the Angkor visitor in this summer of 1979, six months after the fall of the regime which has gone down into history with the names of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, is caught by reality. For, half-way

along the Siem Reap — Angkor road, less than 3 km from the old capitals, you have only to turn off to the left and a hundred metres from the highway you will see skulls half-hidden in the grass. Here and there thigh-bones and human ribs. If you dig in the earth, less than one metre down you will find not only a few bones but hundreds of skulls and piles of bones mixed with rags and hair. In the middle of this ground is a well filled with foul-smelling black water. Two skulls float among a wriggling of maggots. Bubbles of gas continually rise to the surface, for at the bottom of the well corpses continue to decay.

Some people say that if you search the ground you will find thousands of corpses. The men of Pol Pot brought lorry-loads of people up here for weeks in succession, chiefly during the last months of the regime. The victims were tied up and dragged to the edge of a pit dug beforehand. The executioners hit them with clubs on the nape of the neck, then threw them into the pits which they covered with a thin layer of soil. And they declared: these people were agents of the CIA, of Vietnam, of the KGB.

The victims came from surrounding villages and market towns, but more numerous were those driven out of Phnom Penh and the eastern provinces by Pol Pot. Towards 1978, while the insurrection was starting to gather force, the whole population was driven out into the western provinces. When in late July I drove along the road from the Vietnamese border to the Neak Leang ferry on the Mekong, over one hundred kilometres, the villages

were still deserted and fields uncultivated. Six months after the war was over, people continued to return slowly, in long files, to their old villages, in search of a child or a missing wife. They returned from Battambang, Siem Reap or Sisophon after walking 300-400 km, pulling makeshift carts which contained their old clothes and young children. Many kids died on the roads. There were no more cars, trains or boats, as the Pol Pot regime had destroyed all these conveniences of the modern world.

We met Mrs Man who used to work at the hotel in Siem Reap, where tourists visiting Angkor used to stay. She received us in the hotel lounge, emptied of its furniture. Two other young women were with her. They told us the same story: their husbands had been killed, their children had died of illness, hunger or the forced labour from dawn to 8 or 9 p.m., with only some bowls of rice gruel to eat. "Oh, that gruel! The very thought of it makes me feel sick. Very often, to eke out the menu, we were obliged to add a lizard or a cockroach." A man about thirty years old who spoke French mixed with a little English joined in the conversation. He said, "There were 19 of us guides and our job was to accompany tourists to Angkor. 17 were killed. I managed to survive because I was able to conceal what my job had been." For Pol Pot tourism, trade, theatre, sports, cinema, dancing etc., were valueless. And those who were engaged in them were considered parasites in dirty professions, and had to be completely eliminated if "socialism" was to be built.

Intellectuals, too, were to be eliminated. And the term "intellectual" was used by Pol Pot in its widest sense, to include everyone with any schooling and thus imbued with old ideas dangerous to the new society. Chan Sary, a student, said, "My father was an engineer working at the Phnom Penh Institute of Agriculture. After 17 April 1975 the whole staff of the institute were expelled from the town. When they arrived in Kompong Cham they were told that all engineers and technicians had only to report to the authorities to be allowed to return to Phnom Penh to work there. Forty arrived to report, including my father. All were massacred." In Phnom Penh they are counting up: out of the 500 doctors 50 have survived, up to now no college professor has been found, two-thirds of the secondary school teachers have disappeared, so have half of the primary school teachers. Almost all dancers, cinema and theatre actors and artists have been slaughtered. Out of about a thousand of Kampucheans who had returned from France only 90 are alive.

Vandy Kaonn, a sociologist, told me about the system by which the "people's communes" were run. Like everyone from Phnom Penh, he had been forced to work in one for four years. "They held us," he said, "by hunger first, by giving us some bowls of rice gruel every day; they made us concentrate our efforts just to maintain that ration. Then, by killing people under the least pretext, they hung a constant threat of death over us. With that, hunger, the fear of death, we worked." Ten hours of "basic work" a day to plough the fields, spread manure (with bare hands) or gather in the

crops. In the morning before setting off for work, at least one hour of unpaid "socialist labour" and on arrival in the evening another hour of "socialist labour". If you held your nose or screwed up your face when picking up handfuls of human wastes, you were considered a bourgeois and risked being killed. If you sat in a certain fashion or used "obsolete" formulas of etiquette, you were a feudalist... and deserved a death sentence. If you asked for permission to go to see your old sick mother, you were told, "Then you have no confidence in the care the Organization gives her"? How many died just for having failed to trust the Organization? Even the children: if they stole a sweet potato to keep away the hunger, they were killed without mercy.

Hor Nam Hong, former ambassador of the Sihanouk Government to Cuba, talked about what he had gone through. He added every now and then, "Incredible, but it's true!" (in French), as if he was afraid we would not believe him. For over two weeks I had to see all those piles of skulls, to hear horror stories about children killed by blows to the head, about the diet of gruel; all of which lasted for years — 3 years, 8 months and 20 days, affirmed Doctor Sa Voeun who counted the days of misery one by one. All that was mixed up in my head with the Bayon smiling and the criminals marching past on their way to hell on the frescos of Angkor Wat. Unbelievable, too, is the sight of the city of Phnom Penh, intact but devoid of its inhabitants. In Vietnam and in Europe I have seen deserted and bombed cities, but that can be explained. Here

the streets, palaces, hotels and pagodas remain intact but no one lives there. I feel like an archaeologist discovering a town which has been sleeping for centuries. It is difficult for me to imagine the lives of the people who frequented these buildings, the crowd who squeezed into the now deserted stadiums. Imagine people returning to the barter system in the midst of the 20th century: at the market if you want to buy a chicken, the seller asks you for two and a half kilos of rice; if you want to have your hair cut, it is 250 grams of rice. The barber who lost everything in the exodus has to give 30 kilos of rice for a pair of clippers. Pol Pot had the National Bank blown up, he forbade all monetary circulation, set up the system of direct supplies and rationing for the whole society: incredible, but true.

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The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime can only be really understood by someone who has seen Angkor—best qualified by the adjective “magnificent”. What Khmer statesman has not dreamed of reviving the Angkor empire? For Pol Pot, the dream became an obsession. The obsession became a project when, after the Pol Pot—Mao Zedong meeting in 1965, Beijing supplied the lunatic adventurist with the political and material means to carry out his fantasies. The Angkor fantasy has three essential parts:

— An Angkor State whose territory would cover that of present-day Kampuchea, plus Thailand, Laos as far as Vientiane and South Vietnam.

— Great works which would give the regime unequalled prestige.

— The absolute power of a monarch, a god-king (devaraja) holding both temporal and spiritual powers.

Chinese support was to help the regime reconquer South Vietnam and a large part of Laos, these two countries being the sworn enemies of the ruling junta in Beijing. Chinese assistance would suffice to create a strong army. Thus in 1978 Kampuchea boasted 23 divisions (5,000 men each), three-quarters of which were deployed near the Vietnamese border. (The attack against Vietnam was launched by Pol Pot on 20 December 1978, and was to be followed by the Chinese attack on 17 February 1979 against the northern border of Vietnam.)

The great works which Pol Pot wanted to leave to posterity consisted of a huge system of irrigation covering the whole country. Projects to control water over an area of 3 million hectares in a few years (1976-1980) were drawn up. At least twenty times as ambitious as the figures advanced by the 1968-1972 five-year plan worked out by the Sihanouk Government. This was to be carried out, as in Angkor times, by hand, not machine. According to Pol Pot, socialism is above all the revolutionary spirit and not technology. Considerable manpower would be required: not only the peasants but also the whole urban population who were herded into the "people's communes" and had to work at least 12 hours a day, including both "basic" and "socialist" work.

If Pol Pot had been a member of an ordinary communist party his mad schemes would have been criticized sooner or later, and he would have been put back in his place. Unfortunately, when Pol Pot and Ieng Sary came back from Paris, the Kampuchean party had suffered heavy losses under S.hanouk. The majority of the militants trained during the resistance against the French had been forced to flee to Vietnam, jailed or liquidated. In Kampuchean society the industrial working class and the intellectual petty bourgeoisie were only small strata of the population. The traditions of monarchic despotism were very strong and had been revived by Sihanouk in a more or less paternalistic form. Added to this, the party had been deprived of its best elements, so the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary adventurists found it easy to set up from the start a fascist-type political-military apparatus with executioners blindly obeying orders, and to spread that type of organization throughout the country as soon as circumstances permitted.

Maoist ideas introduced at the right moment supplied an ideological tool. In his 27 September 1977 speech marking the 17th anniversary of the founding of his communist party, Pol Pot read out a balance sheet of his work. He said that the socialist revolution in Kampuchea had started in 1975 with the setting up of co-operatives, often named "people's communes". All private property had been abolished and then more rapidly money was wiped out, markets forbidden and the system of distribution in kind extended to everyone. In four years, not only was socialism installed, but, as Pol Pot

said, " we have solved the problem of contradictions between the city and countryside, between brain labour and manual labour, between the leading cadres and the masses." Official speeches and newspapers harped ceaselessly on this theme of radical revolution " which no country in the world dares think of carrying out". They proclaimed, " we are the leading revolutionaries of the world ! " Pol Pot wanted to outdo the Angkor kings on this ideological point, and it was even stated in a newspaper that the world revolutionary banner brandished up to now by Mao Zedong had begun to be shaken, and the time had come when the Kampuchean Party of Pol Pot had the honour of taking up the mission.

This mixture of Angkor fantasy and obsession with radical revolutions fell on favourable ground in a Khmer society where the democratic elements had been eliminated through long years of colonialist, Sihanouk and then Lon Nol repression. The support given by Beijing, which found Pol Pot and Ieng Sary to be ideal agents for its anti-Vietnamese policy, gave the adventurists the means to set up their dictatorship. Such were, I think, the essential factors which led to the setting up of the Pol Pot regime.

A senseless war policy against yesterday's allies, forced labour, the archaic despotism of a family group (Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and their wives) could only give rise to increasing opposition. The repression, in those conditions, took both fascist and archaic forms, and finally reached all strata of the population. The opponents were described as

traitors, agents of Vietnam, the CIA, the KGB, or irretrievably bourgeois, feudalist and petty-bourgeois ready to take advantage of the least weakness to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. The first estimates indicate that out of a population of 7.5 million inhabitants about 3 million died.

The traveller through Kampuchea today does not see a country ruined by war, as has often happened in the course of history. Instead there is something quite unusual, unprecedented. That is a country truly disintegrated by a kind of internal disaster. Urban life was suppressed together with all aspects of civilization including money. The rural population were moved from one village to another, from one province to another. Family and religious life was wiped out in a very short space of time by incredibly brutal measures. A country without trained administrative and technical staff, engaged in barter.

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How will Kampuchea be able to recover from the unimaginable trauma? Sihanouk sets himself up as the saviour: let Pol Pot and Ieng Sary go to live their old age in Beijing, and Mr Heng Samrin go to Hanoi, let them make room for him. Once again he'd obtain substantial aid from the USA, France and other countries, which would spare Kampuchea impossible efforts. Acrobatics performed on the international front, a cocktail of des-

potism and paternalism on the domestic front: this is to save disintegrated Kampuchea. But what do Kampucheans think about it?

I got an answer from a peasant woman who went through the horrors of life under Pol Pot, "We didn't see Sihanouk help us when Pol Pot crushed us with his cruelty. Can Sihanouk now prevent the return of the Pol Pot people? I wonder but I don't know. But I will never forget the day when the Vietnamese soldiers came to save us from the Pol Pot hell." I received a more affirmative answer from a young woman agricultural engineer, rescued from the "people's communes" now working in Siem Reap. "I am 28 years old, I have learned a lot during the years of misfortune. Today Sihanouk is merely a screen that the Pol Pot people are hiding behind to stage their come-back."

The Kampucheans have not forgotten that Sihanouk was able to do nothing when the pro-American officers of his own army and administration decided to overthrow him. Today the real counter-revolutionary force in Kampuchea is considered to be the Pol Pot forces with the unconditional support of Beijing. They have a strong armed base in Thailand, and tens of thousands of cadres and political-military agents scattered all over the country. What stops them showing themselves is firstly the presence of Heng Samrin's armed forces and administration and secondly the presence of Vietnamese troops. If the Vietnamese troops withdraw and the Heng Samrin Government is dissolved, it will not be Sihanouk who will hold real power,

but the Pol Pot political-military apparatus, temporarily without Pol Pot who is too well-known as a criminal. And immediately there will be panic among the population, most of whom will rush to Vietnam.

In its July 1979 communique, the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea stated:

"Our enemy slanderously charges Vietnam with aggression and demands the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. They accuse the Vietnamese of grossly interfering in the internal affairs of our country. All those slanders aim to weaken us and undermine our still fragile revolution. At the request of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese people and armed forces have come to help our people and armed forces and save us from the danger of extermination. Our whole people knows about it and feels deep gratitude towards the Vietnamese people and armed forces.

"As soon as the remnants of the Pol Pot army have been wiped out and there no longer exists the serious threat to our independence caused by the Beijing expansionists and other reactionaries, the Vietnamese troops will withdraw, as they did right after the victory over the French colonialists and then over the US imperialists."

In Kampuchea, which is threatened not only by the Pol Pot troops, but also by famine and disease; in this country crippled by the massacre of technicians and intellectuals, Vietnamese rice, medicines,

doctors and technicians have arrived too. They are coming to bring the indispensable complement to the efforts made by the Kampuchean people and the new government. Personally, having seen on the spot how the Kampuchean population welcome our soldiers and how our technicians work, I just smile as I hear all the accusations of aggression, colonialization and hegemonism that the Beijing and Western mass media pour out day by day. I am more and more conscious of the obligations towards the Kampuchean people which fall on people all over the world who love peace and progress, and particularly on the Vietnamese. May this country no longer fall prey to the men of Pol Pot and Intam ⁽¹⁾ — who have now fallen back into Thailand —, may it no longer become a hotbed of war, a base of aggression against Vietnam and Laos, or a base for Beijing's ambitions of expansion into Southeast Asia !

Some governments have made this proposal to Vietnam : let down your friends, and you will be given an economic aid. Beijing adds : and you shall not be given a second lesson. How little they know Vietnam and the Vietnamese !

Here, internationalism is not confined only to speeches. It is necessary to pay in blood. We have to share with our Kampuchean brothers and friends our daily bowl of rice, the few medicines we have ; our best doctors, engineers and workers must come here to help the people rescued from the

(1) Member of the pro-US Lon Nol government

Pol Pot's "people's communes" run hospitals, power stations, railways and fisheries. I am sure that, once their convalescence is over, the Kampuchean people, with the same energy and creative force which drove their ancestors to build Angkor, will be able to build a solid and prosperous country. A Kampuchea which will be a bastion for the defence of peace in the whole of Southeast Asia.

Phnom Penh, August 1979

THE PEOPLE OF PHNOM PENH ACCUSE

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Professor of Philosophy

(Investigation report on the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique's crimes against the Phnom Penh population)

I — INTRODUCTION

The Phnom Penh people up to April 17, 1975 underwent various instable political regimes. The population of this administrative, economic and intellectual capital city in the period between 1970 and 1975 varied from 2.4 to 2.8 million souls. This demographic growth stemmed from the massive exodus of rural dwellers in the last 3 years of the Lon Nol regime, triggered off by the neo-colonialist war conducted by the Yankees and their henchmen. This unpopular war, which only served the cause of one client clique and foreign interests, gave rise, among all social sectors, to an earnest aspiration for peace — a lasting peace on the basis of social justice. Indeed, the systematic corruption among the rulers, the enormous gap between living levels, forced unemployment arising from the paralysed economic infrastructure and the exploitation of the

weaker by the stronger, diverse economic speculations to the benefit of big dealers and at the expense of poor wage-earners, all sorts of prostitutions born of misery, were all factors which led to increasingly unbearable social injustice.

Nonetheless, the Khmers, always talented and highly capable in their productive and creative labour, are a hard-working people endowed with perseverance and wisdom, and having a most famous civilization. Many monuments among the best renowned in the world, the celebrated vestiges of Angkor as well as numerous artistic and literary works and handicrafts speak volumes of that.

Therefore, faced with this degeneracy and degradation of their society during the last years, they craved for the advent of another political regime capable of creating a new society and of meeting their yearnings. This aspiration for a lasting peace, a definitive political stability was all the more ardent as the decadence of their country was obvious. Their sole salvation lay in the Khmer socialist revolution upon which rested all their confidence and hopes. They thus impatiently looked forward to its victory in the near future.

The mere news of the forthcoming final triumph of this revolution thrilled them with joy.

II — THE FIRST DAYS OF THE ARRIVAL OF THE POL POT — IENG SARY ARMY IN PHNOM PENH

On 17 April 1975 at dawn, the black-clad troops of Pol Pot's revolutionary armed forces entered Phnom Penh. Rudely awakened up from their sleep

by the shooting and by B.40 explosions which destroyed public buildings, the Phnom Penh people came out of their houses to welcome the troops, applauding, jumping, and smiling, so great was their joy. From time to time, these bursts of joy were interrupted by bomb explosions. Soon their jubilation got mixed with astonishment. Armoured vehicles flying white pennants and carrying Lon Nol troops side by side with black-clad men passed along streets and avenues of Phnom Penh. They shouted in chorus, "It is peace. The war is over: no more fighting!" Following their example, the Phnom Penh people also waved white flags. Then, in their turn, foreign embassies hoisted the colours of their respective countries. Hospitals displayed their Red Cross banner.

It was then that the order to evacuate the capital rapidly was given out under the pretext of avoiding losses in lives which might result from US air attacks and the wiping out of remnants of the Lon Nol army. The ensuing bewilderment of the population was beyond description.

Furthermore, a few hours later, they discovered that those black-clad men were cut-throats and looters. To their consternation, the latter opened fire on those who refused or were not prompt enough to comply with their orders. Others, armed with B.40's, began to ransack stores and civilian dwellings. There was no electricity during the night. Phnom Penh became a dead city. No radio broadcasts. From time to time, in the depth of night explosions broke the ghastly silence. The following day, black-clad men grew still more numerous in streets littered with bodies of people recently

killed. By noon, they started driving people out of their homes, threatening to destroy everything if the orders were not obeyed immediately. Volleys from AK-47's fired in the air punctuated their injunctions. "That is for three days only," they affirmed. In point of fact, that was only the first of the measures taken by Pol Pot's "revolution" in implementation of his radical policy, a principle of which is as follows: all city-dwellers must become farmers, only those who know how to plant rice have a right to eat and those who do not have no reason to live. This accounts for the indirect killing of Phnom Penh people whose first trial was the hellish exodus during which more than 500,000 physically unfit met their death.

On the other hand, is not the devastation of libraries—among them the National Library—and bookshops, and the systematic destruction of books evidence of a deliberate effort to obliterate creative intelligence, culture, civilization and science? And this systematic destruction was carried out in accordance with a system, an ideological principle easily recognized by the world.

Right on the first day of Pol Pot troops' arrival, the majority of the Phnom Penh civilian population saw with their own eyes how they destroyed by B-40's hospitals, surgical rooms, the Pasteur Institute. Patients were pushed away from their beds. Those who could not get up, walk nor even move, were hauled together with their beds to the streets. Some of these were being given serum. Most of these patients died a few hours later.

On national highways along which the Phnom Penh people were driven to the countryside and

outlying areas plagued with malaria, the living conditions were desperate: no food allowances nor medicines for a population deprived of everything. The sanitary conditions were shocking. Massive, dragged-out caravans of deportees, progressing at snail's pace — one kilometre a whole morning, even a whole day — trekked along aimlessly, from place to place, pressed on by the rhythms of intimidation shootings. Families then started being broken up: children strayed, wives lost their husbands. Moreover they could neither begin nor finish their meals without being disturbed by these terrible rhythms. Every time they tried to get a little rice, dried fish or salt from villagers in exchange for fine clothings or valuable objects, intimidation shootings would chase them away. All along the way, there were searches of suit-cases and baggage, obviously for looting purposes (transistor radio sets, jewellery, etc.)

Alongside this indescribable disarray, the "purge" of intellectuals began. For this purpose, Pol Pot resorted to a system of detection merely based on appearance. Those who looked like intellectuals, especially those who wore spectacles for myopia or presbyopia, were listed as suspects and could be arrested at once and sent to the security service. A great number of them did not return to their families. The intellectuals were all regarded and treated as outlaws and parasites. If a few of them managed to survive, it was because they had not revealed their real identity and had lived under disguise with borrowed names. Others owed their good luck to having anti-regime "rebels" as heads of their cooperatives. The latter protected them by

omitting to denounce them to the higher authorities and by sending them to work far away from villages to keep them out of the watching eyes of informers.

The purge of intellectuals practically began even as the Phnom Penh population were driven out of the capital city. It began simultaneously with the purge of the Lon Nol troops. Pol Pot — Ieng Sary used a very simple yet unqualifiably infamous trick: dispatching vehicles equipped with loud-speakers to diffuse an urgent appeal pretending that they needed intellectuals (professors, technicians, physicians) for the reconstruction of the country and former military men for national defence.

In their long journey to the most out-of-the-way corners of the country, large numbers of Phnom Penh civilians, mostly old folk, children, lying-in or pregnant women, patients, disabled, succumbed under atrocious conditions: no food, medicines nor midwives. Those who walked along the Mekong during this long march through forests and swamps, were eye-witnesses to other killings: trains of corpses floating on the river, swept away by the current. This ghastly scene lasted several months on end.

III — THE WRETCHED PLIGHT OF PHNOM PENH PEOPLE AND INTELLECTUALS IN DEPORTATION CAMPS

The population was divided into three categories. The Phnom Penh people belonged to the last one, i.e. "citizens" deprived of all rights, "war prisoners", in other words, the vanquished. They were called "new inhabitants" and treated as parasites.

The coercive system applied to the Phnom Penh population consisted in a kind of automation of men: interdiction of thinking, expressing anything contrary to the principles of the "Revolution", of maintaining inter-human contacts, of criticizing, of showing emotions and feelings, of moving from one village to another and, from the beginning of 1977, eating and cooking (apart from boiling water) at home was also forbidden. Failure to comply with these orders to the letter amounted to thinking and this mental activity was considered as a guilty act. Any delay in implementing the order amounted to an act of rebellion liable to be investigated severely. If this continued, the suspects would be sent to "re-education" centres, and in a great many cases, it was capital punishment decided by the head of cooperative. At home, especially at night-time, husbands and wives dared not talk, lest spies and informers should denounce them. The husband would fear that his wife might let slip something about his former profession under Lon Nol, for many had lost their lives because of this kind of imprudence. He would fear that she would tell him of the petty larceny she had made the previous day (some fish, rice, salt, cassava, sweet potatoes or a few bananas for their children).

Angkar, this almighty Organisation of the Revolution, always omnipresent, had its eyes and ears everywhere. It was The Terror personified. The victims, before being done away with, were usually sent away to fetch something. If in the evening, the husband did not return, his wife could be sure that he would never return. She should keep herself, above all, from crying or showing her sorrow

during her working hours, for that would be regarded as an act of mutiny against the political line (Meakea) of the "Revolution", seriously endangering the "Revolution". The punishment varied with the degree of gravity: either sending to a deportation camp located most likely in a malaria-infested area, or simply a clean disappearance. When there is public accusation, if the head of cooperative did not mete out any punishment, he himself would disappear. Angkar was ubiquitous indeed.

How were the sick Phnom Penh people treated? Under the Pol Pot regime, only those whose diseases were evident at eyesight such as wounds, influenza, etc., were considered as ill. Those who suffered from diseases of lungs, heart, liver, kidneys, stomach, in brief, from what was invisible, were regarded as fakes, idlers or rebels and subject to a very close inquiry. Many of them disappeared. Those held to be hopelessly unfit were finished off and thrown into wells. Pol Pot's hangmen told their families there were so many such wells that Korean and Chinese advisers in Phnom Penh dared not drink Khmer water: they only drank coconut milk.

Those considered to be sick were obligatorily hospitalized, which was a dreadful thing: apart from the lack of hygiene and cleanliness, the diet was horrible and medical treatment more often than not turned out to be fatal. Some died of avitaminosis, malnutrition, others from poisoning. The luckiest were those who came out with some infirmity resulting from an abscess caused by unaseptized injections.

For the "imaginary invalids" and old people thought to be idlers and saboteurs of the first degree, the punishment went from diminishment to total deprivation of food allowances (the luckiest got a handful of rice for one or two meals).

To the daily working hours were added extra-work called "socialist labour". Right after the midday lunch, everybody was harnessed to other jobs: planting vegetables, weeding, etc. At 1 p.m., as the bell rang, the ordinary work called "fundamental work" ("Kar Snaul") resumed. At 5 p.m., the "fundamental work" being suspended, they were shifted to "socialist work" till dusk. After a quick bath, they were allowed to dine. When there was very much to do, especially in the transplanting season, women had to work till 10 p.m., sometimes 11 p.m. Those women who had unweaned babies to nurse suckled them before going to bed, utterly exhausted. At 4.30 a.m., the dreadful bell resounded all over the village. All the Phnom Penh survivors, even now, still shudder when they happen to hear something resembling that sinister bell.

There were practically no days off. The so-called holidays were devoted to indoctrination, to brain-washing, if not to other work even harder than on week-days. So holidays were undersirable and even abhorred. During periods when there was not enough work, sessions of mutual criticism were organized every evening. It was a kind of self-inflicted moral punishment in public. Those who were not diligent enough in working, those who spent too much time caring for their families or were late for the farmwork, were virulently criticized, or even subject to inquiry. These sessions,

presided over by the chairman of the cooperative, usually ended very late in the night.

There cannot be anything more inhuman, more shocking than this regime of working, this coercive system, this robotization which bled human beings white, overtaxed human capacities and diminished men physically and intellectually. In a nutshell, it was a system really hostile to man in general and, in this case, to the Phnom Penh people in particular. This sweating work of slaves, of war prisoners imposed upon the Khmer people in general and the Phnom Penh population in particular, was aimed at a two-fold purpose: of economic and ideological orders. These two objectives were interdependent. The major concern of the leaders of the regime consisted in increasing the production of paddy (from 1 to 3 tons/ha and, in the last two years, from 3.5 to 7 tons/ha). The second target was to achieve the robotization of men so that they would have no other thoughts than those permitted by Angkar. All this had its origin in Maoism and the political principles preached by the Beijing leaders who wanted to turn the Khmers into rice-producing machines which consume no fuel and not too much rice.

Spying Organization and System Based on the Principle of "Ankar's Omnipresence" (Phnek Monoas)

Judging from his coercive system, Pol Pot was firmly resolved to systematically wreck the former feudal and capitalist society as well as the ancient Khmer family. The new society would be one

peopled by automatons which he could handle at will. The division of the population into 3 categories was designed to sow dissension between Khmer city-dwellers and other fellow-citizens. All relations between these 3 categories of "citizens" were forbidden: gatherings were absolutely banned, talks between two or more people closely spied on. Denunciation was encouraged with rewards. Children were taught to spy on and denounce their parents. In other words, Angkar made everyone distrust everyone else so that they entertained adverse feelings for each other. This famous Organization of Revolution of Pol Pot sowed panic and spread division among the population. The slightest manifestation of unity to oppose this policy was savagely repressed. In Koh Phal, Kompong Cham, a general uprising started by Malaysians ended in a bloodbath: the whole village was massacred by Pol Pot.

Repression Against Old People, Women and Children

a) Pol Pot did not want women to be pregnant, because they constituted the main pillar in agricultural production. Any request for childbirth leave deemed too early was very badly taken and the asker would see daily ration severely reduced. Tormented by hunger, the expecting mothers would make up their mind to go to work again. If such indispositions as vomiting or fatigue became too frequent, they would be sent to the hospital. They would implore their team leaders then to allow them not to go there. Their husbands would be authorized to see them only two or three times a month or, if they were sent to work in remote

places far from villages, once every three months. Very few men were given the favour to work in a village within reach of their wives. For this, they must work as servants to mighty people in the village. Those poor pregnant women lacked everything: no special diet indispensable for the coming baby's health, nor affection, nor comfort. Some of the husbands were driven to commit illicit acts in order to alleviate their wives' plight. It was then that the tragedy began: picking a fruit without authorization amounted to stealing socialist property, which entailed one or two days of imprisonment, in many cases, the culprit simply disappeared: the penalty depended on the local authorities.

One month after delivery, the baby's mother must resume work. Any delay would get her frowned upon for lack of determination in her role as "revolutionary". It goes without saying that under such conditions, the new-born was far from having good health. According to a study of Doctor Nuth Savoeun on the matter, the staturo-ponderal and intellectual future of Phnom Penh children born under the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime has been impaired for good, as well as that of those who are now below 15 years of age. Indeed, the latter, driven out of the capital city together with their parents in the midst of the hottest season, were poorly clothed, undernourished, had no medicines, and this all along an interminable journey on foot. In the camps, they never ate their fill, for the reason that they did not work.

b) The old people underwent a slow, piecemeal death: Angkar made them toil hard, disregarding

their decaying health and physical force and gave them a starvation diet. In case of breakdown during work, the penalty went from a reduction to a total suppression of food allowances. The ideal solution adopted by local authorities to do away with those unproductive aged consumers was simply to ignore them or to finish them off in case they grunted or yelled.

c) "Children are the pillars of this new society," claimed the Pol Pot clique who, in fact, gave them some privileges over the adults and aged. These privileges, however, must be justified by their effective endurance in labour, the quantity and quality of their work. Angkar made them toil not only as hard as adults, but even harder: they had to build dikes, cut ditches, open trails under the scorching sun without flinching. Many succumbed to delirious fever and in their rare moments of lucidity were, nonetheless, aware that they were expertly exploited. Sent to build huge dikes in malaria-infested out-of-the-way corners, every evening, they would cry silently in their huts battered by rain and storm, thinking of their parents, in particular of their mothers to whom they had had no time to bid farewell before their hasty departure. They brought almost nothing along: neither mosquito-nets, nor covers. They shivered with fear, not daring to show their mental collapse in this "edifying struggle" to rebuild the country. Said the Organisation of the Revolution: it is for their parents' welfare that they are real pillars of the Nation. They wanted to send letters to their parents but could not because they did not know how to read or write. They brought what little they had of

tobacco to those Phnom Penh youths with whom they maintained secret friendships so that the latter could send letters by them to their dear ones. They wanted to write to their brothers and sisters, but did not know their whereabouts, the latter being enrolled in other mobile brigades and sent to other unknown places. They regretted that they had not had the time to learn to read and write, and in this new society where they were landed, the Organization of the Revolution had told them over and over again that the most efficacious school consisted in manual labour.

Repression Against Buddhist Bonzes : Destruction of Religious Faith

Bonzes were forced to give up their saffron robes. Representatives of Angkar shamelessly humiliated them by compelling them to work like others, produce like others and for others. They looked ridiculously awkward with their shaved heads in those awful black clothes, without knowing it. This double humiliation could only drive them to suicide according to the Buddhist tenets in the sense that even though Buddhism does not admit suicide, it preaches indifference in the face of death. They continued their contemplation and refused to accomplish that humiliating forced labour imposed upon them, to kill oxen, buffaloes or pigs.

Along with the destruction of pagodas and Buddha statues, let us examine how Pol Pot destroyed the religious faith.

Every time Pol Pot's militiamen surprised old women praying before the Buddha statuettes they

kept in secret, they would say : "If Buddha is really mighty, he must protect you. And suppose I kill you now, are you sure he'll come to your rescue ?" Thereupon, the thugs would throw the statuettes into nearby ponds or rivers, or stamp on them, grinning. Take, for instance, these slogans of Pol Pot : "Buddha is of no avail to the new society ; he does not help to produce at all. Mao does help produce to support men", "Pray to God and you'll see if he gives you something to eat. Pray to Angkar and you'll see whether you are given food to eat or not." Sure, children who prayed to Angkar and showed their gratitude to it, got their food allowances, whereas old people, facing the choice between Buddha and their stomach, had to opt for the latter. Thus, Pol Pot had the Buddhist faith destroyed.

Sanitary Action

Practically, the hospitals and physicians created and trained by Pol Pot were merely places and means to carry out the massacre of the Khmer population in general and of the Phnom Penh population in particular. True, scientific medicines were used, but they were exclusively reserved for the rulers. Those condemned to a suspended death sentence, i.e. the population, had no right to them. For them, empirical medicine called national medicine was substituted for scientific medicine. In some cases, the two went in pair or were mixed dangerously. Medicaments were administered without prior diagnosis. Physicians with at best 3 months of training, sometimes teenagers having

no theoretical knowledge, indulged in scandalous surgical operations, in monstrous experimentations on patients considered as guinea-pigs. Those who refused to serve as guinea-pigs, were charged with instigation of rebellion against the medical science of the Khmer Revolution, if not of plain contempt of the Khmer Revolution.

Never before in the history of mankind had there been such hellish medical organizations. Never before had the Phnom Penh people seen such a horrible, monstrous spectacle. What is more, it was they who were at the same time victims and actors, that is to say, guinea-pigs. Those who dared declare themselves sick, were sent to those slaughter-houses. In fact, it was a purge aimed at eliminating those physically unfit for the hard work of agricultural production, for the sick were useless consumers who did not produce anything. As a directive to physicians to kill those outcasts, Pol Pot used this famous watchword: "Keeping them alive gets nothing; killing them, one loses nothing." Small wonder those hellish hospitals were nests of lice, bugs, fleas and mosquitoes. Naturally, the mortality rate in those establishments reached an all-time high, 90% in some of them. To be true, the job of Pol Pot's physicians in those hospitals consisted essentially in burying corpses, acting as both assassins and grave-diggers. Such was the task of the physicians trained by Pol Pot. How can one understand and interpret this queer attitude of Pol Pot's medical organization which brought down scientific medicine to the empirical level through

atrocious, murderous experimentations and therapeutics arising merely from a sadistic fantasy? Coconut milk was administered as glucosed serum. Newly concocted solutions were injected into patients' veins without any prior diagnosis whatever, only to see what was their effect. Solutions which should be administered intramuscularly were injected intravenously, for lack of professional knowledge and practice. How could they help committing those errors, those so-called physicians of 14-15 years of age who couldn't read either their mother tongue or foreign languages! To malaria patients, those teenager-physicians administered either Chinese-made quinine or all kinds of fruit or tree barks having a bitter taste similar to that of quinine. Short of these ingredients, they gave them aspirin instead. Otherwise, they gave whatever was available, even products meant for other diseases. Every morning, medical assistants distributed to all patients the same medicines, mostly those prepared by Pol Pot's druggists according to their own fanciful invention and technique. It goes without saying that fatal reactions were frequent. If occasionally they gave the proper medicament, it was because they were tired of burying corpses. The holes they dug for their victims were 0.5 metre deep only, so many they had to dig. By the way, let us note that the victims' parents and kinsfolk never could see their beloved for the last time before burial. This was forbidden. It was a heart-breaking tragedy unforgettable for all the survivors. Many other atrocious images remain engraved for ever in their memory scenes of utter despair in which their wives, husbands and children died from ordinary medicaments

misused, with mothers sobbing by the side of their children who died without uttering a sound. Many patients witnessed ignominious acts performed before the burial of the dead: the grave-diggers stripped them of all belongings: clothing, wrist-watches, gold teeth, etc. And Khmer traditions have the dead well clothed and perfumed!

The equipment necessary to surgical operations and the conditions under which they were carried out in districts were simply scandalous. One could say these were mere children's games: rudimentary tools of tinkers, no operations room, needless to speak of anesthetics and antiseptics. Besides horrible dissections without precise techniques, one should note a sort of primitive acupuncture performed by 14 or 15-year-old children having very little knowledge, even none, in biology.

Destruction of Khmer Morals and Customs

Pol Pot — Ieng Sary's destruction of Khmer morals and customs affected painfully the whole Kampuchean population except those who sold themselves.

Religious and traditional festivals, artistic performances — expression of the Khmer traditional art — were totally banned as well as various beliefs and traditional wedding ceremonies. The ban on Prâchum Ben (Festival of the Dead) plunged the Kampucheans into the most anguishing moral abyss of their lives, for the celebration of this festival is believed to lead to an absolution of the sins they had happened to commit. Also suppressed were the ceremonies of burial and cremation. The

Khmer tradition requires that the bodies be cremated and Pol Pot wanted them buried in atrocious, shocking and scandalous conditions: neither coffins, nor clothes, nor ceremonies. All details of the cremation ceremonies to which the Khmers are faithfully attached, were brutally trampled underfoot. This violation of the traditions of cremation constituted for the Khmer an utterly unpardonable offence.

Forced Marriages (Pol Pot-Style Wedding)

Pol Pot hated marriages of love to be contracted or children born of mentally well-balanced and sensible Phnom Penh people. The forced weddings he organized all over the country seemed to arise from two causes: the hatred for beautiful girls and the aversion for the usages and customs of all civilizations in general and of the Khmer civilization in particular. So, he very often paired the most reluctant and proud beautiful girls with his horridly ugly, crippled or one-eyed soldiers. These very frequent forced weddings usually ended in a total failure and resulted in suicides of the wives, passive resistance and all but provoked a general rebellion among women.

Mrs. Nguon Vouch Ny, whose youngest sister is Miss Nguon Sopheap, 23, now working at the Ministry of Information and Culture, was one of the victims of that tragedy. She was a widow whose late husband had been dispatched to Phnom Penh by the authorities of Khum Krâla, Srok Kompong Seam, Kompong Cham province, where she herself was deported. A Bachelor of Arts and mother of

two children, Mrs. Nguon Vuoch Ny and 19 other widows in the village were forced to marry Pol Pot crippled soldiers. Of course, these 20 widows refused to comply, which got them shut up in an infernal cell. At the climax of their pains and despair, they vowed to choose death rather than accept this kind of re-marriage, if again they were forced to the same fate after release from prison. The former Mme Nguon Vouch Ny, beautiful and learned, was a faithful wife. She poisoned herself with "Sleng" grains (*strychnos vomica*) to avoid this inescapable dishonor, leaving behind two little girls. The latter are now 10 and 12 years old, and can bear witness.

The 19 other widows were finished off after being raped by Pol Pot's militiamen. Before those 20 widows, who all were "new inhabitants", i.e. 3rd-category citizens, were subjected to this infamous offence, a group of young girls of the Mobile Brigade had been chosen for these marriages. They had offered resolute resistance and two of them had hung themselves to oppose those forced marriages.

If some women had to comply, it was because they feared for the security of their parents: their refusal could endanger the latter's lives. That they sacrificed their bodies to those savages, was a gesture of renouncement, a philosophic attitude.

Inhuman Treatment of Intellectuals

Phnom Penh civilians, especially intellectuals, were closely watched during working hours as well as in their daily life. They were considered as undesirables, culprits and, so to speak, death

convicts on probation. In Pol Pot's eyes, the intellectuals were the incarnation of the exploiting class and, consequently, corrupted beings by nature and evil doers. The authorities of every village, every *khum*, could dispose of them whenever they felt like it. In Prek Krâk (Srok Stung Trang, Kompong Cham), Mr Chan, former teacher, and many other civil servants including a former office messenger, and large numbers of students, were, all in one day, killed with axes on boats ferrying them to the middle of the river. This crime followed an urgent order from the superior quarter noticing that intellectuals still infested the country. It ascribed to every head of cooperative a quota of 15 convicts. This formal order must be executed under the eyes of the Organization inspectors.

Physical tortures were commonplace. People were made to draw ploughs and harrows in the fields in the place of buffaloes and oxen, which, in the rulers' eyes, were more useful to the Revolution than those city-dwellers who ate much and sought to work the least possible. We only specify, to the purpose of all ulterior inquiries, that those facts took place in Battambang. An eye-witness, who lived by that time in Srok Praneth Preah, would be glad to produce his testimony. Moreover, other survivors still living in various places of Kampuchea, are also willing to bear witness.

It was absolutely forbidden to keep and moreover to read books of the ancient regime. Novels of love, in particular, were considered most harmful, a source of corruption. "Man's feelings impede the advance of the socialist revolution," said cooperative heads over and over again.

On the other hand, if inadvertently an intellectual used some French or English words, he was seriously jeopardized. His parents and friends were then on tenterhooks, expecting the worst, till the Khum authorities sent for the culprit to dispatch him to an unknown destination from where he never returned. That was the case with many Phnom Penh youths working at the Stung Thom construction site (Karathan), Prek Kak. The latter committed this imprudence during quiet talks between them in their huts before going to bed. A secret agent of Angkar, posted outside, overheard them, and the next day, those who let slip the fatal French words disappeared. In the same construction site, another young man, seized by a profound nostalgia and an infinite distress, started humming a French song before his friends, at the great exasperation of a "basic inhabitant" standing nearby. Despite his friends' imploring, the young Phnom Penh man kept on singing defiantly and more and more loudly. When he finished, thus having somewhat alleviated his anguished heart, he said: "Now I can die". Naturally, the following day Angkar men came to take him away. Since then, his parents have kept themselves in a complete mutism and renounced every human contact. The mother, consumed by her gnawing inconsolable sorrow, died a month later and shortly after, the father hanged himself in his hut, leaving an inscription reading: "May I never be reborn in this cursed land!".

Treatment of Artistes

No less shocking was the plight reserved to artistes by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique who

vowed an implacable hatred against them, not so much as human beings but as the incarnation of aesthetical values. Movie and theatre actors, and singers were considered as worst corruptors on the same footing with intellectuals.

Apart from some songs and musical pieces composed by Pol Pot's men, all other musical compositions, especially Western ones, were absolutely prohibited on the whole territory of this so-called Democratic Kampuchea. To ensure the strict implementation of this ban, Pol Pot ordered all the singers done away with. Without the protection of villagers, there would be no singers left at present. Movie and theatre actors did not escape from this purge either. The most famous and most well-known sportsmen were liquidated first of all, especially karate and judo champions whom Pol Pot soldiers invited to compete in velocity with bullets of their AK.47. "Bell-bottomed" trousers discovered in suitcases were considered as hidden "arms of corruption"—an attempt against the Revolution.

Those unbearable physical and moral conditions prompted many people, including intellectuals, to flee. But a flight from the concentration camp—everybody who lived under the Pol Pot regime knew only too well—was not an ordinary adventure, but an act of suicide, and this suicide was collective because it would reverberate on the fugitives' families. As soon as the flight was discovered, the wives and children were killed. Villagers of different districts in Srok Stung Trang and elsewhere often saw carts carrying entire families to places of massacre in thickets beyond their villages.

They all can serve as witnesses. In case an exhumation is needed, the wood Phnum Monty, 1 km from Prek Kak, will amply prove this assertion.

Crimes Perpetrated in Phnom Penh Under the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary Regime

According to statements of a number of workers living in Phnom Penh under Pol Pot, the total population of the capital city by this time was estimated at only more than 32,000, including 12,000 — 13,000 workers. From 1975 to 1977, only 37 factories functioned. These minor workshops bombastically called “enterprises” were in fact sawmills, a cigarette factory, small workshops producing fibro-cement, tyres, paper, etc. From 1977 on, some of those workshops stopped functioning, being short of raw materials. Phnom Penh workers sometimes worked 20 hours per day and their food rations however were hardly higher than those of city-dwellers evacuated to the countryside. To catch up some of their due of sleep, many workers feigned to fall ill, which got them an ill reputation as idlers or rebels and harsh punishments. At the slightest sign of discontent the rulers saw CIA or KGB agents everywhere in the ranks of their subordinates. The suspects were summoned almost every day to the security service where they were tortured before being killed. The horrors in the Tuol Sleng concentration camp which will be spoken of below constitute a typical specimen of the torture system adopted by Pol Pot.

According to a statement of Mr. Ung Pech, now a mechanic in Phnom Penh, who lived there under

the Pol Pot regime, over 1,000 students and distinguished personalities residing abroad before 1975 successively went back to Phnom Penh in 1975, 1976, 1977 and even 1978. Many of them, of whom we have a list discovered in the Tuol Sleng concentration camp together with reliable evidence, were tortured before being done away with. Others were sent to do hard labour in factories or administrative offices, and put under close surveillance. Those who seemed to be too critical or too vocal were sent to torture in "re-education" houses or in the security service. Rare were those who were lucky enough to return to their posts. If a number of them (85 out of 1,000) survived, it was because they kept to themselves their thoughts and feelings. They very rarely talked to one another or even did not at all. The surveillance and discipline on this matter was extremely severe.

In the Tuol Sleng prison — a real concentration camp and torture centre — we discovered important documents on the elimination by means of torture of eminent intellectual personalities in Kampuchea — those who were still in Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975 — and of the 1,000 intellectuals back from France at the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique's request to take part in the reconstruction of the country. According to two surviving students who returned from France in 1977, the NUFK Committee in Paris, animated by Hing Un and Ok Sakun, was responsible for the repatriation of these 1,000 personalities and students. Also according to them, the latter were flown from Paris to Beijing by the regular China Airlines and from Beijing to Phnom Penh by Chinese Boeing 707's.

In the Tuol Sleng concentration camp, now opened to all visitors, there were rooms of interrogation and torture equipped with monstrous devices: electroshock generators, suspension from the ceiling, iron bars, choppers, chains, fetters, etc. On the floor, tufts of hair torn from the scalp and traces of coagulated blood are still visible. The walls and ceilings are also smeared with blood. The garden in front of the prison administration was turned into a burial ground where the almost flat earthwork suggests that the dead were most improperly buried: indeed, each hole was only 0.50m deep. In the two workshops, busts and portraits of Pol Pot are seen everywhere. One can imagine under what constraint painters and sculptors were made to do this work.

We also found out heaps of clothing, probably of the victims who were stripped naked before interrogation. Inquiries on this matter are being carried out.

Mr. Ung Pech, on the other hand, told that the Pol Pot authorities sent him to Kompong Som to repair and handle machines. There, he happened to see Chinese ships unload countless boxes of arms and ammunition. This points to the plan to establish a Chinese logistic base in Phnom Penh where we found a great number of stocks of arms and ammunition far exceeding the needs of national defence of the whole of Kampuchea. Undoubtedly, this was in preparation for a big-scale offensive against Vietnam and Laos. Pol Pot—Ieng Sary's preparations for the war of aggression against the neighbouring brother countries and treason towards

the Indochinese revolution as well as towards the nation and people of Kampuchea, are more than evident. With regard to the Khmer people, this act of treason consisted in exporting an enormous quantity of rice and rubber of the Khmer people to China. According to documents we have discovered, rice exports in 1977 totalled 480,000 tons, as compared to the figure of 400,000 — 430,000 laid down by Pol Pot. The same document says that China demanded no less than 625,000 tons. We are going to give below the conclusions of a scientific study on the yearly national production of rice under the Pol Pot regime in relation to the diet so scandalously imposed by the traitors upon the Khmer population.

The annual gross production of paddy in the 1975-1976 riceplanting campaign is estimated at 3.6 million tons and the diet of rice gruel plus three months of cooked rice accorded to the less than 6 million inhabitants, gradually reduced to 5 million, is far below 1.2 million tons; for 1.2 million tons for 6 million inhabitants would cover home consumption with a yearly quota of 1 ton for every 5 inhabitants. Where did the remaining 2.4 million or at least 2 million tons of Khmer rice go every year? What kind of trade with China is this, with, as imports, two Chinese bicycles per village or even per district, and those Chinese medicaments which were very rarely found? The part allotted to the Khmer population in 1975-1976 is estimated at only 600,000 tons, i.e. 1 ton for 10 inhabitants per year; 500,000 tons in 1976-1977 and 400,000 tons in 1977-1978. And the Khmer population was steadily reduced

from 6 to 4 million in a 4-year period. The birth rate under the Pol Pot regime was insignificant, since often children were born only to die a few days later.

In 1976-1977 and 1977-1978, the exportable volumes varied from 2.14 million to 1.76 million tons, while according to documents discovered by us, China demanded at least 480,000 tons and at most 625,000 tons for 1977. Unquestionably, the difference constituted an important reserve to prepare for the big-scale offensive against Vietnam and Laos. Unfortunately, on his flight, Pol Pot took along with him part of these stocks and destroyed the remaining part together with almost all the economic infrastructure. Phnom Penh people who came back home could see huge stores of rice burning for weeks. According to their estimate, those stocks of rice destroyed would suffice amply for the consumption of 4 or 5 million inhabitants at home for 2 years.

Take for example the important granary of Tonle Bet facing Kompong Cham city, which burned for more than a month. The passers-by could salvage only a negligible quantity of rice almost completely charred and, therefore, unusable. The first comers to Phnom Penh could see, at the Phnom Penh railway station, carriages full of provisions which Pol Pot troops had not had enough time to take away. The latter had taken the road to the Cardamones on the first days of the collapse of the regime. On the other hand, Mr. Vandy Kaonn, former guard of cassava fields in a rubber plantation in Meak, Srok of Skung Trang, Kompong Cham, in the year

1977/8, reported that he had seen large numbers of trucks transporting rice toward the North. Clearly enough, those unusual nocturnal transports carried out for months were aimed at hiding provisions in strategic stocks located in different places of the territory.

Pol Pot's softening measures designed to remedy the general political situation, were not as easy to implement as he had believed. Accustomed to their despotic rule, the Pol Pot clique could not quell the smouldering rebellion of the population that way. A dangerous disorder impelled them to take other parallel measures: eliminate the "headstrong ones." These manoeuvres were far from being politically efficient but boomeranged instead: the orders were not carried out and the "basic inhabitants" deemed them inordinate and irrelevant because their families found themselves more and more involved. By the end of 1978, the superior authorities, exasperated by their own powerlessness, ordered their cut-throats to massacre all the population. Realizing that more than 90 per cent of the population were waiting for the propitious moment to coordinate their actions with the National Salvation Front, Pol Pot ordered immense common graves to be dug all over the country and mass killings to be conducted in every village (In Prek Kak, Kompong Cham, only 7 families, deemed unconditionally faithful to the regime, were spared). It was widespread terror. In every village, there were talks about a secret decision of Pol Pot. "They are going to replace the Khmer population by millions of Chinese." This was confirmed more and more with every passing

day. In fact, those ditches dug everywhere began to be filled up with corpses. Most terrifying was the one dug in the Stung Trang pagoda (Kompong Cham): over 5 thousand bodies were buried there. In other places in smaller ditches, people discovered choppers, anvils, barrels of alcohol, indisputable instruments of crime. In "Daun Moine" (Prek Kak village, Srok Stung Trang), those instruments were discovered before the crime was committed and Chim, chairman of the Srok Committee, suspected organizer of crimes of this kind, was arrested by the local people already enjoying the protection of the National Salvation Front. However, in other villages, those crimes were carried on at an accelerated tempo. The order was explicit: wipe out in time those people who were going to overthrow the regime with the moral support of the National Salvation Front.

The traitors included in their plan of massacre even crippled soldiers and workers now becoming useless to their "revolution".

Prey Veng province is now almost empty: not a living soul. In the drains of the market, skulls and bones were discovered: as a matter of fact, this market had been turned into a torture centre under the Pol Pot regime.

CONCLUSION

After the proclamation and propagation of the 11 principles of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, stating among other things

that all the deportees could now return to their native places, Phnom Penh people began to come home. However, the supplies being still inadequate to ensure a regular distribution, they had to sojourn temporarily in villages outlying the capital city, waiting for Phnom Penh to become habitable again.

Indeed, after more than three years, Phnom Penh has changed beyond recognition: heaps of garbage and rubble, rampant vegetation, destroyed public buildings, wrecked religious monuments. Water lacking, carcasses of vehicles littered the streets or lay abandoned in public garages. In libraries, books were scattered everywhere: more than half of them were lost or rotted in the gardens. Inside formerly splendid villas now in bad repair, T.V. sets, refrigerators and other pieces of furniture were broken or completely smashed.

With a superhuman effort, the Government of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea has been gradually reactivating the public services: hospitals, ministries and different public offices. Several thousand people are authorized to live in the city to take part in this task of reorganization. They are technicians and former functionaries called in urgently for the purpose. Hospitals are still lacking in adequate equipment and medicines, especially antibiotics. Only a few factories have begun to function. Over thirty superior bonzes have retaken their robes and are now living in their crumbling pagodas, not long ago turned into stores of arms and ammunition. Almost all the means of transport and telecommunication

are unusable, in brief, all the economic infrastructure was destroyed by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

In the field of culture, the damage is immense. Many objects of great value disappeared or were destroyed. The five libraries in Phnom Penh and important university ones as well as objects of art and books of the *Maison de France* were savagely ransacked. The large National Library was turned into a store of dinner plates: more than 75 per cent of its books disappeared. At present, records show a very negligible number of technicians, artistes, physicians and intellectuals back in Phnom Penh.

Statistics on this matter are being established. According to the recent partial census based upon choice samples, we have gathered the following initial results concerning the number of Phnom Penh people killed during the period under the genocidal regime of Pol Pot.

It is objectively impossible for the time being to take a general census of surviving Phnom Penh people. We have registered 18 doctors of medicine (against 500 before 1975) who have already come back to Phnom Penh (eminent specialists, professors among others). Anyway, till now, no prominent Khmer personalities of national and international renown have returned to Phnom Penh. Apart from some ten high diploma holders and about twenty political personalities now residing abroad, we discovered in Tuol Sleng a fairly long list of high personalities of whom many were coldbloodedly killed and others put to torture then condemned to death. The

written statements of those murdered personalities are highly eloquent on the matter, speak volumes for the fate of other victims and open the door to no less important documents on Pol Pot—Ieng Sary's policy of genocide and high treason.

Following are the names of some celebrities executed by them:

—Huot Sambath (diplomat) executed on 9 Sept 1976,

—Y Sup Kunthy (diplomat) executed on 9 Sept 1976,

—Mouk Savuth (UN official) executed on 23 Sept 1976,

—Chim Kok Hue (diplomat) executed on 23 Oct 1976.

Personalities who were subject to interrogation and probably executed:

—Phung Ton, Director of Higher Education and Rector of the Phnom Penh University,

—Chea San, former Kampuchean Ambassador to the USSR,

—Chhuk Heng Mao, Education expert attached to UNESCO,

—Rath Kuth, Professor of the Faculty of Medicine in Phnom Penh,

—Chou Savon Han, Doctor of Physics,

—Nou Phon Ton, Professor of Secondary Education, UNESCO fellow,

—Miss Ap Meng Chheng Im, Master of Arts,

—Tea Meng Teck, Inspector of Primary Education attached to UNESCO.

— The consequences of the towering crimes perpetrated by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary on the Kampuchean people are uncountable and disastrous for both the present generation and posterity. The Phnom Penh people who were worst hit inherit from this barbarous regime lasting diseases which affect them for life and cruel recollections forever engraved in their memory. More than ever before, they are now determined to build a new life, a new society primarily based on humanism. They all are handicapped, more or less diminished physically and intellectually, and need urgent care.

Phnom Penh, 15 August 1979

THE TRIAL IN PHNOM PENH

HOANG NGUYEN

The People's Revolutionary Tribunal, set up by a decree of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council made on 15 July 1979, sat in Phnom Penh from 15 to 19 August 1979 to try Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, charged with genocide. The two defendants were sentenced to death in absentia.

For a long time the Kampuchean people and their friends all over the world have been wishing the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Council to take the initiative to institute legal action against these two notorious Khmer Rouge leaders. The decision was enthusiastically welcomed by various social strata in Kampuchea. In less than a month, hundreds of men and women, from all localities, classes, nationalities and religions, of their free own will, supplied the Tribunal with a great amount of irrefutable evidence. Not only did the evidence confirm reports from foreign sources, but it showed that the scale of the crimes and the degree of atrocity were even higher than had been thought.

Besides its solid popular basis, the Phnom Penh trial distinguished itself by its strict respect for

the norms of justice and legality. As sources of law, the Tribunal referred largely to the 1948 Geneva Convention on genocide. As for the rules of procedure, the famous judgments of the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials against the war criminals after World War II served as precedents.

It follows from the indictment that the crimes perpetrated by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique exceeded in scale those committed by Hitler. Besides their large scale—about 40 per cent of the population eliminated—those massacres affected, apart from the racial, ethnic and religious categories specified in the 1948 Convention, many social strata, including intellectuals, officers, soldiers and civil servants of the former administration as well as their families and all those belonging to the opposition or likely to be so. In that sense the trial made a new contribution to the definition of genocide.

The crimes consisted not only in collective massacres but also in creating such living conditions as condemned the survivors to eventual death, in creating an environment which meant complete dislocation of the social fabric and the negation of family and other human relations, thus making existence unbearable for human beings.

For many days the testimony of witnesses, expert reports, and films illustrated a public of nearly one thousand people—including observers and lawyers from India, Algeria, Syria, the US, Japan, Cuba, the Soviet Union, etc.—horrible scenes from the experiences lived by the Kampuchean people during the four years from 1975 to 1978.

Men and women, children and old people were grouped into production teams and obliged to do farm work twelve hours a day. All they got to eat was two bowls of rice gruel a day during 9 months and two bowls of rice at harvest time.

Mass graves were scattered throughout the country some of them containing as many as 1,000 corpses. There was one, in particular, with more than 5,000 corpses, discovered in the Stung Trang pagoda, Kompong Cham province.

There was a woman of French nationality who was compelled to exist on cockroaches and who, powerless, witnessed the agony of her adolescent daughter who died of starvation. And before dying the young girl asked just for a bowl of rice, but the poor mother could not satisfy her daughter's last wish.

A young man and a young girl from Kompong Chhnang were both stripped, hanged to a tree and burned alive for having committed the crime of loving each other without permission of the Angkar.

Hundreds of thousands of children and teenagers were chosen by the Angkar for the "moral purity" of their age, and were turned into spies. Their job was to eavesdrop on people during the night and report later to the Angkar what they had heard. Those who had complained about life in the people's communes or who had exchanged some words in a foreign language would be requested, the following day, to "go to the forest", where death awaited them in the form of pickaxe blows to the neck.

These figures are terrifying indeed: 90 per cent of the country's Moslem population were killed;

only 69 survived out of the 645 doctors, pharmacists and dentists, who made up the Kampuchean medical staff; four-fifths of teachers and 90 per cent of artists were eliminated.

There is no end to these impossible but true stories. Every Kampuchean has his or her own experiences to tell you, and you learn incidentally that half of the members of the family were killed or died of starvation or illness.

However, it was not in a spirit of vengeance or to boast of their victory that the survivors of genocide, the organizers of the Phnom Penh tribunal, tried the great criminals Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. As an American lawyer stressed at the trial, the new leaders of Kampuchea when deciding to set up the tribunal were first of all conscious of the obligation to punish genocide, as is stipulated in the 1948 Convention to which Kampuchea is a signatory.

The Beijing rulers should have sat at the bench of the defendants too, since they had instigated the massacres in Kampuchea. It was established by the tribunal that at a press conference held in Beijing on 3 October 1976, Pol Pot himself admitted that since 1960 he had based himself on "the works of Mao Zedong" to oppose the genuine revolutionary line, and later to impose on the people of Kampuchea his own theory of "100 per cent radical socialist revolution", "revolution advancing by great leaps, marked by considerable progress and sublime wonders".

During a visit to Beijing on 28 September 1977, Pol Pot told Hua Guofeng, leader of the Chinese

Party and State: "We have applied with creativeness and success Mao Zedong thought to the realities of Kampuchea. For Kampuchea, the most precious Chinese aid is Mao Zedong thought."

From the Chinese side, there was no end to the praises given to Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. Mao Zedong himself had highly appreciated the forced evacuation of Kampuchean cities and towns on the orders of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary in April 1975. He said: "Comrades, you have won there a wonderful victory. With one blow you have got rid of social classes". (Meeting between Pol Pot and Mao Zedong in June 1975). Hua Guofeng later added: "Comrades, you excel not only in destroying the old world, but also in building a new one." (Meeting between Pol Pot and Hua Guofeng in September 1977).

Pol Pot and Ieng Sary's Kampuchea was completely shut to the outside world. True, Phnom Penh counted seven or eight embassies, but their limited staff could not actually leave the embassy premises, except the Chinese of course. The Chinese Embassy had a staff of 300 members plus 20,000 advisers scattered all over the country and in every branch of activities. How could those Chinese diplomats and advisers be ignorant of the crimes committed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary? The truth is that they were not only the latter's accomplices, but also the masterminds in planning those crimes, which reproduced, roughly speaking, the events in China during the Cultural Revolution.

The Phnom Penh trial, by its exhaustive investigation, proved thus to be of great use to the whole

world and above all to Southeast Asian countries. It helped reveal the true nature of "Mao Zedong thought", particularly in its implications for the countries chosen by Chinese hegemonism as fields of experimentation, then as bridgeheads for its expansion.

*
* *

The truth about the Kampuchean genocide was fully established by the tribunal, and the authors of genocide who appeared as the greatest criminals of all times, can only be scorned by all humanity. From now on it would be a scandal and an insult to human conscience to admit their presence or that of their delegates at any international agency whatsoever. How can one imagine that the Kampuchean people are represented by their own executioners ?

Their death — political for the moment — was announced, while on the military plane, the remnants of their armed forces were reduced to mere banditry in a narrow strip of territory close to the border. On the political and administrative plane, the authority of the People's Revolutionary Council is effective over the whole territory of Kampuchea.

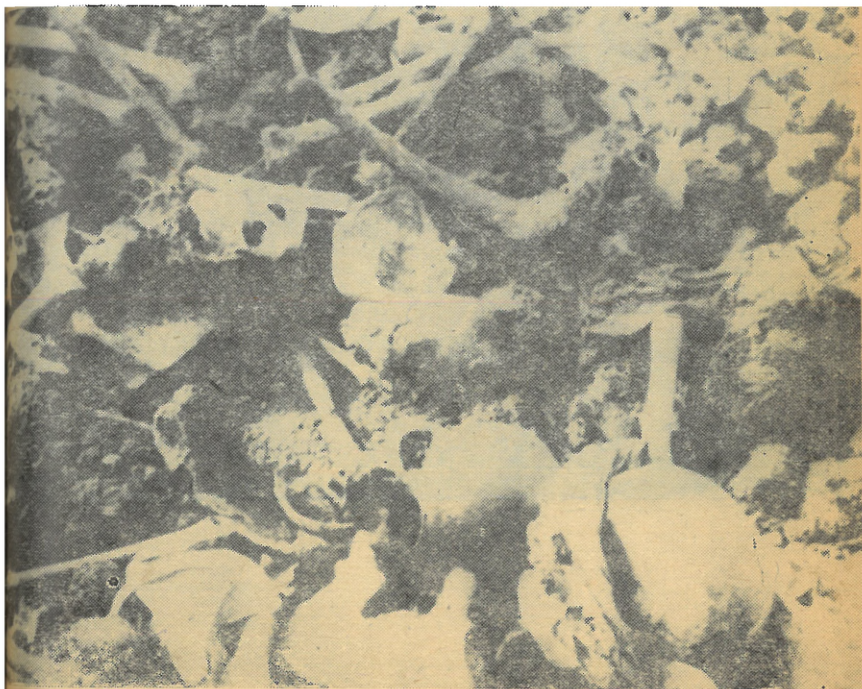
Against this background, the attempt by some foreign governments, Beijing and Washington in the first place, to impose on the people of Kampuchea a government different from the one they have set up seems to be not very realistic. Some wish to place at the head of that government a man

who not long ago styled himself before the international agencies as the official representative of the genocidal regime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

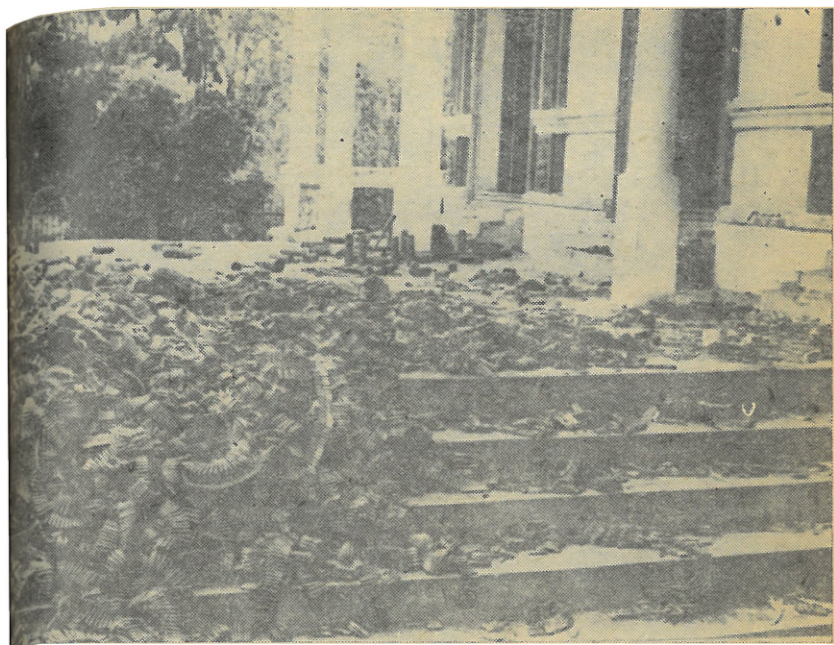
We are confident that the international community will sympathize with the Kampuchean people and will lend itself to their resurrection. For the time being, world public opinion should be warned against that underhand plot, both immoral and reactionary, but doomed to failure because it runs against an irreversible situation inside Kampuchea.

GENOCIDE

"In Kampuchea today, wherever one goes, one feels as though one were treading on human remains and smelling the stench of rotting corpses."

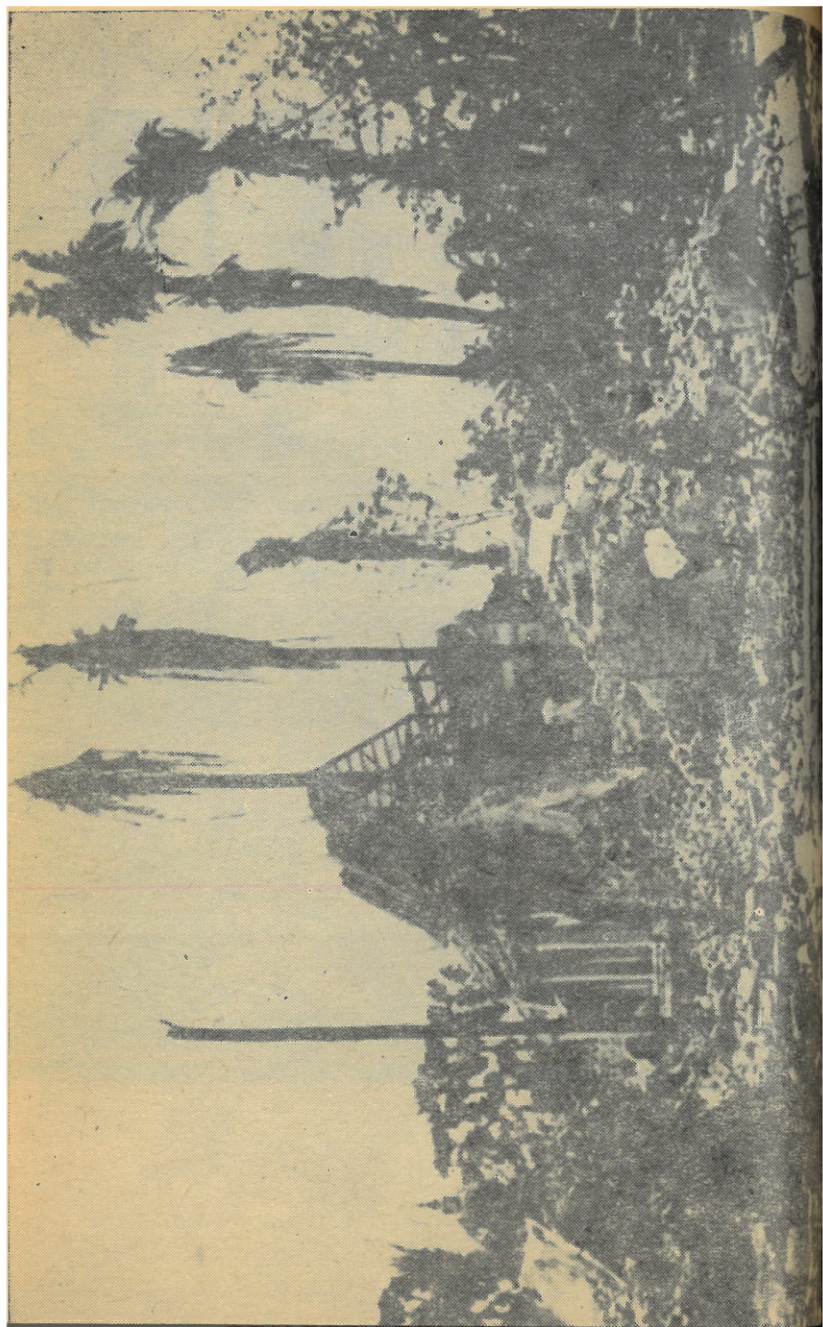


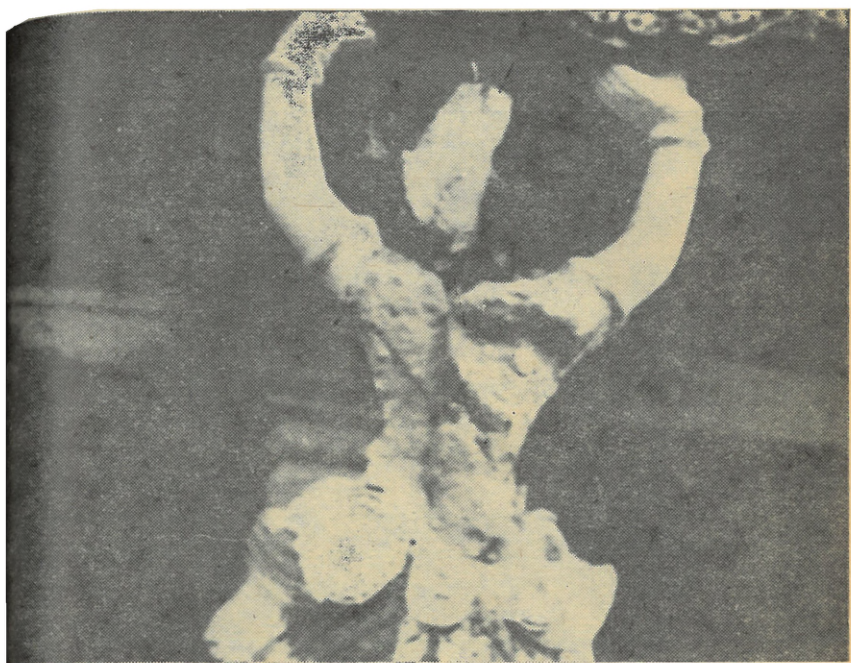




is and hospitals were turned into ammunition

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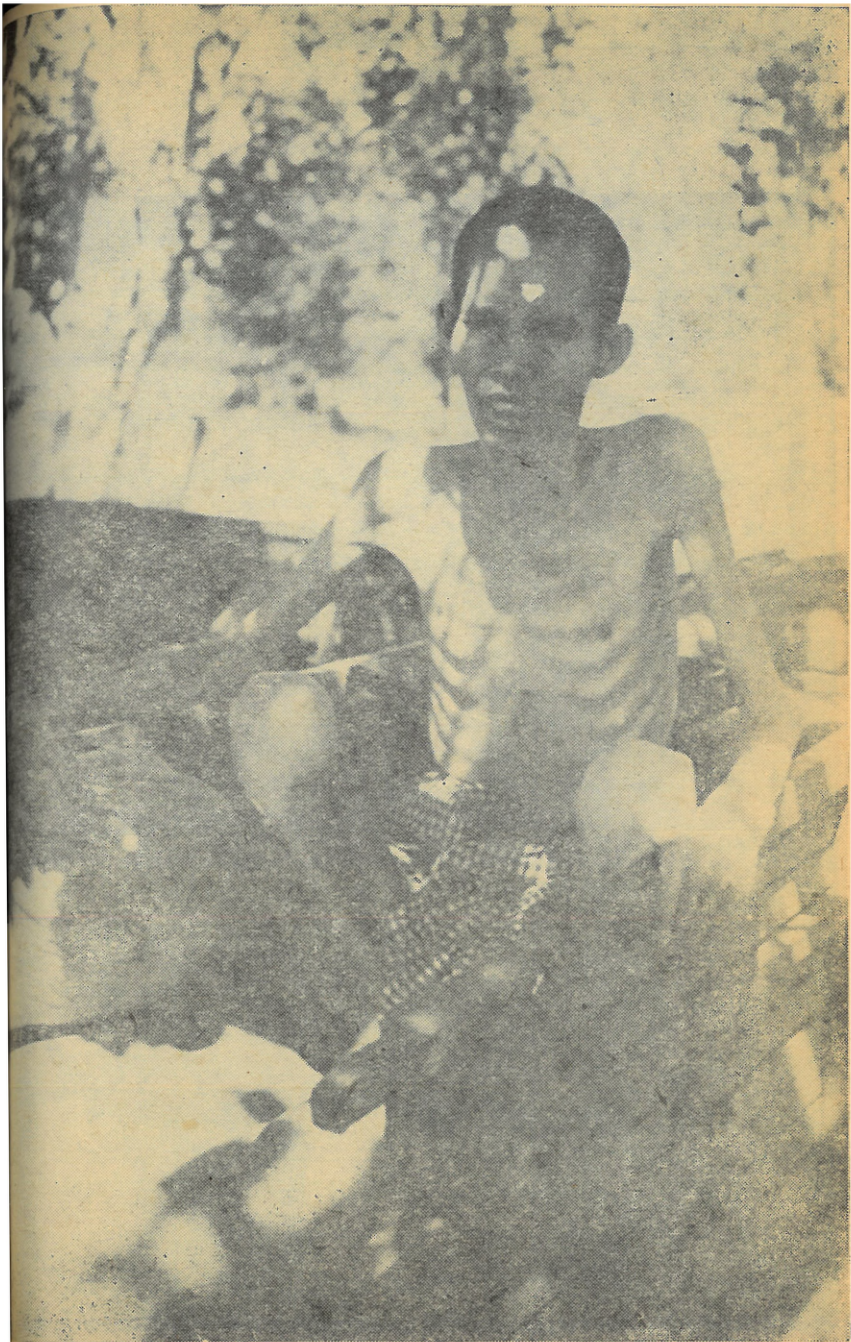


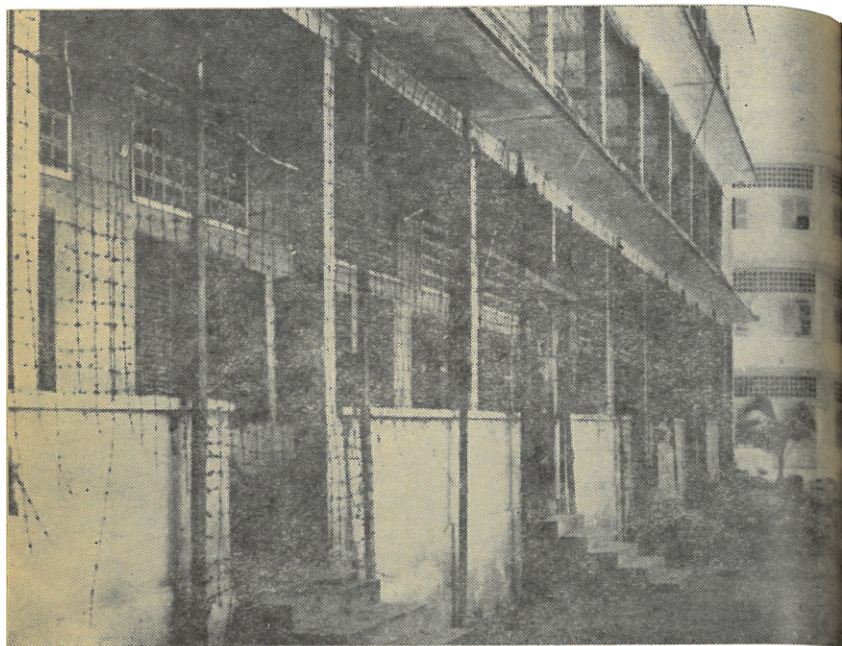


▲
◀ Destruction of pagodas and Buddha statues.



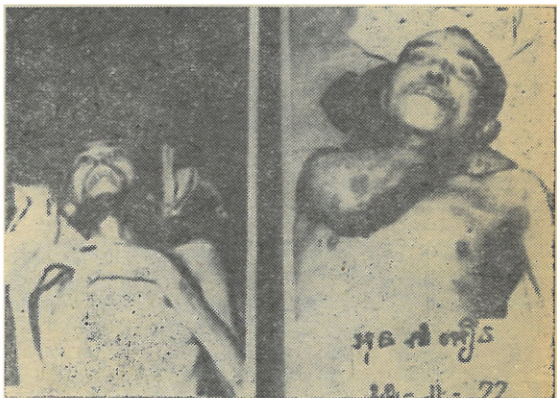
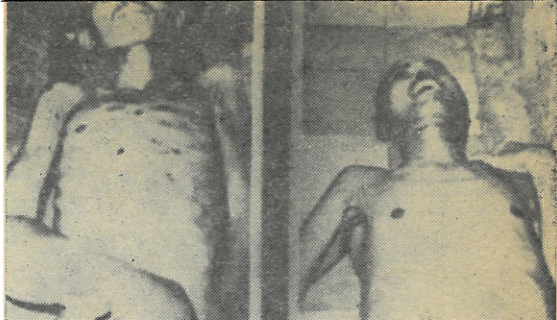
The survivors of the system of forced labour and malnutrition.

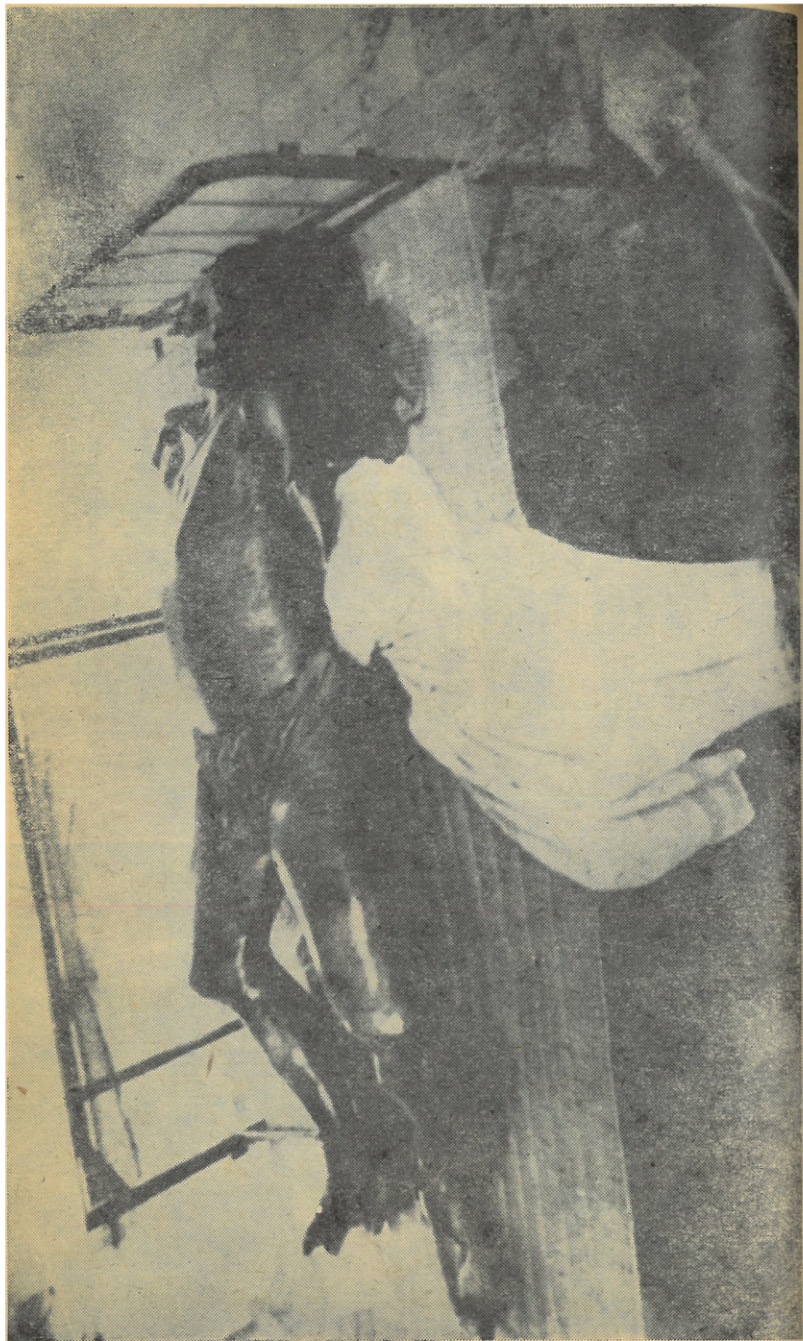




The Tuol Sleng prison in Phnom Penh. The building was once a school. Here a great number of Kampuchean intellectuals were detained and killed.

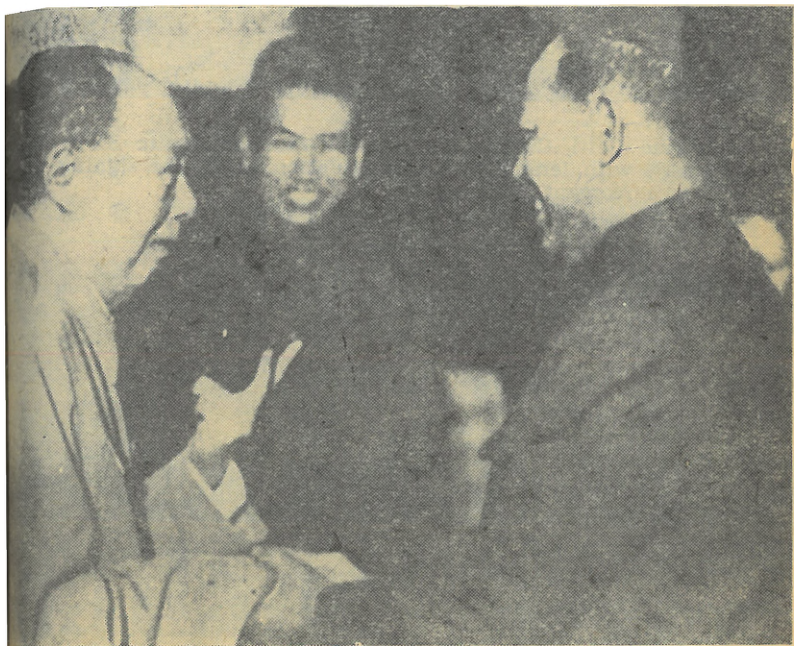
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BEIJING'S HAND

Mao Zedong and Ieng Sary in Beijing: "Comrades, you have won there a wonderful victory. With one blow you have got rid of social classes."





Sun Hao (left), Chinese ambassador to "Democratic Kampuchea", with Ieng Sary: congratulations after the signing of an agreement.

Chinese diplomats and advisers fled to the Thai border
(Bangkok Post, 9 January 1979)

invading any other
 to guard our own soil
 the morale of the
 and belief, however,
 Vietnamese troops
 Cambodian guerrillas
 set foot on Thai soil

their country. The Prime
 Minister stated. "The refugee
 problem is an international
 problem and Thailand should not
 have to shoulder the burden
 alone."

He admitted that it was always
 possible for a few refugees to
 sneak into Thailand from some

patrol forces have been asked to
 stay on the lookout for refugees,
 some of whom could be armed.

Premier Kriangsak told the
 news conference that according
 to his information, the former
 Cambodian Prime Minister Pol
 Pot, and Deputy Premier Ieng
 Sary and other leaders were still

watch the developments closely.

Asked whether he would back
 guerrillas of the Pol Pot govern-
 ment, the Premier said, "We will
 not allow anyone to use our soil to
 stage any aggressive act against
 our neighbors."

He also said that no decision

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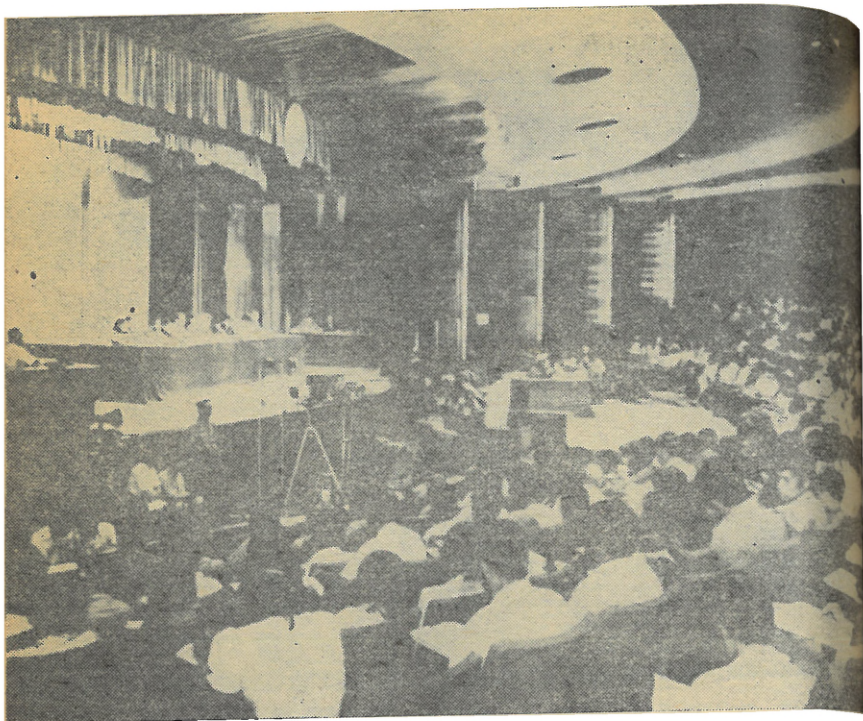


Thailand

THAILAND has closed its border to refugees from em-
 bed Cambodia, but allowed 922 foreigners—861 of
 Chinese advisers — to cross the frontier yester-

The Chinese diplomats and technical advisers
 who fled from Cambodia yesterday try to identify
 their baggage at the Aranyaprathet border
 checkpoint.





The Tribunal in session.

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL IN PHNOM PENH

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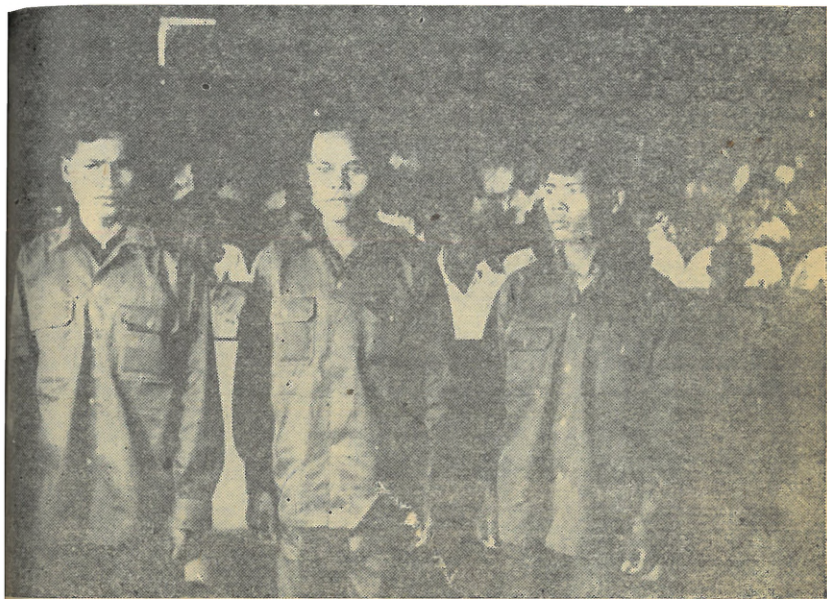




Witnesses :
Mr Vandy Kaonn and Mrs Denise Affonço.

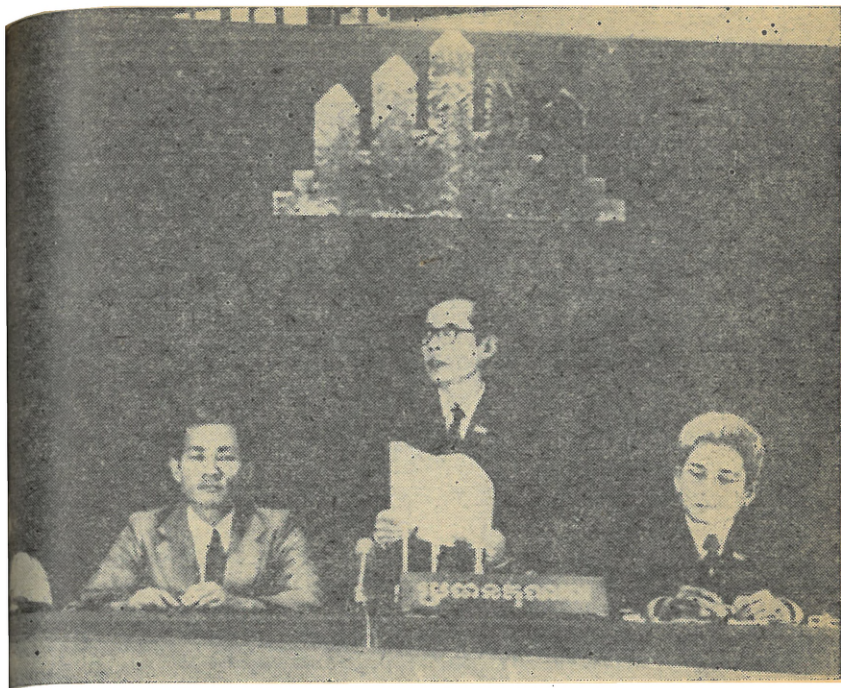
Executioners :

Men Khuon, Sin Samonh and Soklimut.



Foreign observers inspecting a mass grave in Siem Reap.





The President of the Tribunal, Keo Chanda, reads the judgment: Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were condemned to death *in absentia*.

APPENDIX

**JUDGMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY
TRIBUNAL HELD IN PHNOM PENH
FROM 15 TO 19 AUGUST 1979**

THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL

Created by Decree-Law No. 1 dated 15 July 1979 of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, has held its public sittings at the Capital City of Phnom Penh from 15 to 19 August 1979. It is composed of:

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Mr. Keo Chanda | President of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal — Chairman of the Council of Judges. |
| Messrs Chlour Leang Hourt | People's Assessor |
| Pen Navuth | — |
| Mrs. Chea Samy | — |
| Messrs Moa Savatha | — |
| Nouth Savoeun | — |
| Nouch Than | — |
| Mrs. Chnouh Chhim | — |
| Messrs Kim Kun | — |
| Kim Kameth | — |
| Luk Sarat | — |

The court sessions have taken place
in the presence of :

Messrs Mat Ly

Prosecutor, acting as
Public Minister at
the Tribunal

Lun Nay

With a Secretariat composed of :

Messrs Houll Sans Ol

Ouh Chandara

For the purpose of pronouncing first and last
instance verdicts against :

1. Pol Pot alias Saloth Sar, born in 1925 at Phum
Prek Scau, Kompong Thom province, with second-
ary school education, former Prime Minister of the
overthrown Democratic Kampuchea Government,
married to Khieu Ponnary, now in hiding and the
object of a warrant of arrest ;

2. Ieng Sary, born in 1925 at Hoa Lac hamlet,
Lien Hoa village, Chau Thanh district, formerly
Tra Vinh province and now Cuu Long province,
Vietnam, with university education, former Deputy
Prime Minister of the overthrown Democratic Kam-
puchea Government, married to Khieu Thirit, now
in hiding and the object of a warrant of arrest.

The accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are prosecuted
for committing genocide, under Article 2 of Decree-
law No. 1 dated 15 July 1979 and referred to in
the Indictment dated 15 August 1979 of the Prose-
cutor of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal.

On the basis of Article 5 and Article 6 of Decree-
law No. 1 dated 15 July 1979 of the People's Revolu-
tionary Council of Kampuchea, the Tribunal has de-
cided to hold sessions to judge in absentia the
accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

The decision to bring the present case before the Tribunal and the subpoenas summoning the accused before the Tribunal have been made known through broadcast over the National Broadcasting Station and posted at the offices of the Administrative People's Committee and the People's Revolutionary Tribunal of the City of Phnom Penh.

The People's Revolutionary Tribunal has appointed: Messrs Dith Mounthy and Duos Por, Kampuchean lawyers, and Mr. Hope R. Stevens, American lawyer, to defend the two accused.

Also taking part in the court sessions were the following civilian plaintiffs:

Mr. Abdul Kodom

Mrs. Denise Affonço

Miss Chhay Sani

The People's Revolutionary Tribunal has agreed to the appointment of Mr. Mohammed Hikmet Turkmanee, Syrian lawyer, for the defence of the rights of the civilian plaintiffs.

After hearing the Indictment dated 15 July 1979 of the Prosecutor;

After hearing the investigation reports made by representatives of various branches and circles—economy, culture, health, education, religion, national minorities—of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea and representatives of various strata of the Phnom Penh population who have been directed by the Prosecutor to testify before the Tribunal:

After hearing the declaration of witnesses, victims and civilian plaintiffs;

After hearing the declarations of witnesses who have made on-the-spot investigations, namely:

1. Mr. Francisco Varona Duque Estrada, Cuban lawyer,
2. Mr. Susumi Ozaki, Japanese lawyer, and
3. Mr. John Quigley, American lawyer ;

After study and examination of documents and evidence related to the case, such as texts and photos of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique which had been seized as well as texts, films, photos and other evidence related to the sites of the crimes and to acts of genocide perpetrated by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique ;

After hearing the charges by the Prosecutor ;

After hearing the lawyers defending the rights of the civilian plaintiffs ;

After hearing the lawyers defending the accused ;

After thorough examination of all the documents of the files of the case, after debates and deliberations according to the law ;

The Council of Judges of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal held in Phnom Penh has determined the nature of the present case as follows :

After a valiant, protracted, and arduous struggle, shoulder to shoulder with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos, against the French colonialist invaders and subsequently the American imperialists and their agents, the Lon Nol clique, our people gained a glorious victory : on 17 April 1975, our dear Kampuchea was completely liberated.

The most profound aspiration of all strata of our people is to live in an independent, peaceful and happy country in a society which is truly equal, just and democratic and to unite in building and defending our Kampuchean Fatherland advancing

on the road of prosperity to develop to the highest degree our glorious traditional Angkor civilization and entertaining peaceful and friendly relations with the fraternal neighbour nations.

But during their four years in power the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary betrayed our people and our Fatherland. The Tribunal finds that the accused have committed the following crimes:

- 1 — IMPLEMENTATION OF A PLAN OF SYSTEMATIC MASSACRE OF MANY STRATA OF THE POPULATION ON AN INCREASINGLY FEROCIOUS SCALE; INDISCRIMINATE EXTERMINATION OF NEARLY ALL THE OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE FORMER REGIME, LIQUIDATION OF THE INTELLIGENTSIA, MASSACRE OF ALL PERSONS AND DESTRUCTION OF ALL ORGANIZATIONS ASSUMED TO BE OPPOSING THEIR REGIME

The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique divided the population into three categories subjected to different treatment: category 1, comprising “old citizens”, i.e. persons living in resistance bases existing before liberation; category 2, comprising “new citizens”, i.e. persons living formerly in areas controlled by the old regime; and category 3 comprising those who cooperated with the former regime.

Their policy was to exterminate category 3, purge category 2, sparing only category 1. Persons of the latter category, although well treated at the beginning, were in their turn subjected to purges as from 1977. (Minutes of the meeting of Kompong Ro District Party Committee).

1. Indiscriminate extermination of officers, soldiers, and civil servants of the former regime and their families.

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique decided to exterminate all the officers, soldiers and civil servants of the former regime.

Many puppet officers were slaughtered together with their families.

Immediately after 17 April 1975, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique resorted to various tricks, such as summoning them for political courses and then mowing them down with gunfire, as was the case with a great number of rallied soldiers in different provinces and towns: Battambang, Mongkolborey, Sisophon, etc., or marching them to a forest, then surrounding them and binding them up and killing them by hitting with bamboo sticks.

One of those executioners is Men Khuon who has admitted before the Tribunal :

“The slaying of 2,005 was done upon orders from Pol Pot to celebrate the great victory of 17 April 1975. The chairman of Tuk Phok district named Miek Vay summoned 50 guerillas from various villages of his district and gave them this oral order: ‘The former Lon Nol soldiers are our enemies. We must kill all enemies to celebrate the day of victory. This is the order of our leader Pol Pot. Anyone who refuses to kill is disobeying orders and must inflict on himself due punishment’. We obeyed the district chairman’s order and all the 50 of us killed 2,005 Lon Nol soldiers.”

According to witness Soklimut from Pursat, in April 1975 about 4,000 Lon Nol civil servants, officers and soldiers were beaten to death or gunned down at O Chroi stream, near Mount Prey, Chum Tum village, Keo Ko district, Pursat province.

As has been admitted by Sin Samonh who belonged to the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary security service, the Pol Pot clique continuously searched for and killed the Lon Nol officers and men and their families who were still in hiding.

On 12 and 13 August 1978, together with 8 others, he killed 250 Lon Nol soldiers and their families.

2. Liquidation of the intelligentsia :

The Pot Pot—Ieng Sary clique considered students and intellectuals, professors, scientists and technicians as persons seriously contaminated by the former regime, as reactionaries not fit for any use. Their policy was to submit them to purges so as to “purify society”.

This policy was reflected in a seized document on a directive of the Executive Bureau of the Eastern Region Party Committee, which reads :

“We must heighten our revolutionary vigilance as regards those elements who have served in the administrative machinery of the former regime, such as technicians, professors, doctors, engineers and other technical personnel.

“The policy of our Party is not to employ them in any capacity. If we run after technology, we will feel that they submit to us and we will use them, but this will create an opportunity for enemies to infiltrate our ranks more deeply with

every passing year and this will be a dangerous process."

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique held that "there are still many intellectuals hiding and this is harmful to our country" and they gave orders to the effect that "at every commune at least 15 intellectuals must be discovered and killed."

Intellectuals and students were hunted to be exterminated. Many of them had to conceal their identity with infinite care and patience and do such work as making manure or other farm work in the communes. Those whose identity was discovered were taken to an unknown destination.

Doctor Phlek Chat, of Proaket Meales Hospital, was arrested in July 1975 and submitted to torture. He died in jail after a burning torch was forcibly driven into his throat.

Doctor Tan Beng Phoun, arrested in April 1976, was thrown into a crocodile-breeding lake at Trey Khling Khum village, Sandal district, Kompong Thom province.

According to the report on the investigation of crimes committed by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique as presented by the representative of Phnom Penh population before the Tribunal, those who had the appearance of intellectuals, such as those wearing myopic or presbyopic spectacles for short or long sight were under suspicion. Those suspected of being intellectuals were closely watched, because they were considered as undesirable or as persons with a suspended death sentence. The authorities in "communes" could kill those persons

when they have discovered that the latter were intellectuals, or at any time they liked.

At Prek Kal, Stung Trang district, Kompong Cham province, teacher Chan and a number of students and former civil servants were put on boats and taken to the middle of the river then slain with spades.

Doctor Ich Kim Seng who was once Assistant Minister of Health and professor at the Medical College has related the days of his hiding in a "commune":

"I kept cattle for 4 years in a forested area in Takeo. I didn't have any occasion to read a page of a book, to hear a news broadcast and I didn't have even a piece of paper to write on. For more than 1,000 days, I did not touch a cake of soap and I had to smoke dried forest leaves. I had to eat rice gruel all the year round and I have become allergic to this food and I shudder at the sight of a bowl of gruel. My wife and four children have either disappeared or have been killed or have died of starvation or of diseases."

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique also used deceptive propaganda to lure intellectuals like diplomats and students who had been working or studying abroad to go home, supposedly to build the country. But as soon as these persons arrived at the airport, they were taken into custody after being robbed of foreign currencies, gold and whatever valuable things they had.

According to some surviving returned intellectuals who have testified before the Tribunal, under

the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime, about 1,000 intellectuals came home from abroad, but now only 85 of them are left.

Mr Ung Pech, a road construction engineer from Kompong Som, testified that when he was working in Kompong Som he was assigned the task of maintaining the unloading facilities of the port but for food had only banana stems and salted fish, while the Chinese advisors had plenty to eat. In April 1977 he was accused of being an enemy and was jailed at Tuol Sleng Prison in Phnom Penh, together with a number of teachers and intellectuals. He knows that about 600 foreign-returned officials and students were kept in this jail then killed.

Numerous articles carried by the international press and news agencies also confirm the extermination of intellectuals by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

3. Intensified repression and systematic massacre of individuals and organizations suspected of opposition to the regime.

In order to consolidate their power the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique intensified efforts to purge their own organization, destroying, by most bloody means individuals and organizations suspected of opposing them.

Early in 1977, they gave to the “communes” orders to the effect that various categories of “reactionaries”, including the opponents or potential opponents, must be thoroughly exterminated.

On 4 April 1977, during a Standing Committee meeting, this order was issued, “All committees and

branches must actively carry on the task of purification by wiping out enemy elements."

Any high-level cadre of the Party, the Administration or the Army, who happened to disapprove their bloody crimes was accused of being a spy of foreign countries and killed. It also happened that whole big units were massacred.

Early in 1977, they accused Coi Thuon, Commander of the North Western military zone, of being a traitor. Following Coi Thuon's murder, scores of other high-level cadres like Hu Nim, Minister of Information; Toch Phoeum, Minister of Public Works; Duon Po, Commander of the North-Western military zone, were killed.

A seized document dated 3 June 1978, reveals that 18 high-level cadres in the Party were killed from 1972 to 1978. It is worthy of notice that on the list was the name of Comrade Son Ngoc Minh, former President of the Issarak Front, a most important leader in the Central Committee of the Kampuchea Communist Party and whom the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique had used the hand of the Beijing reactionaries to murder at a Beijing hospital in 1972.

These bloody internal purges were considered by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique as great victories.

A seized report read: "We have won these great victories thanks to our decision to track down and liquidate enemies in a systematic way, uprooting their important organizations at the base level".

As time passed their purges became increasingly bloody and extensive.

In a seized list were the names of 242 high-level cadres killed from 1976 up to 9 April 1978. Among

them there were 2 Party Central Committee members, 4 Interzone secretaries, 24 secretaries of regions and regional committee members, 4 ministers, 5 vice-ministers, 9 leading officials of ministries, 8 political commissars and deputy commissars of divisions and a number of ambassadors who had been recalled from abroad, etc.

In May 1978, they killed Mr So Sar Yan alias So Phim, Political Bureau Standing Board member, Secretary of the Eastern Region. Following this event, a great number of officers and soldiers of Military Zone 203, of Divisions 280 and 290, and of all divisions of the Eastern Region, including units at district level, were considered as not faithful to them and massacred. Tens of thousands of persons, officers and soldiers together with their fathers, mothers, wives and children, and even invalids who had been credited with many exploits in battle were killed. Even people native of the Eastern Region but who had been forcibly evacuated to other areas were also tracked down and massacred by the tens of thousands in June 1978. (Declarations of witnesses Soklimut from Pursat and Yen Ting from Kompong Cham).

Soldiers from the Kandal Military Zone were used as butchers in this massacre with support by airplanes, tanks and artillery.

Even a close associate of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, Von Vet, Political Bureau Standing Board member in charge of the economy, was also killed in November, 1978.

4. Together with these internal purges, from 1978, and particularly from April 1978, the category 1 citizens, who had been Pol Pot and Ieng Sary's reliable support, were in their turn subjected to bloody repression.

Unable to bear the harsh Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime any longer, those people rose up against the ruling clique. This provided the latter with a pretext to massacre extensively category 1 citizens in Chup, Prey Veng, Kompong Cham, Svay Rieng, Rattanakiri and Mondulkiri.

Witnesses from Chup declared before the Tribunal: "Workers at the Chup Rubber Factory and other persons taken from other places to Chup to be killed during July and August 1978 in the presence of Chinese advisors numbered tens of thousands. Their corpses were thrown into craters made by B.52 bombs. There were about 40 such craters which were filled with human remains. This white terror caused more than 3,000 surviving Chup workers to flee and take refuge in Viet Nam." A witness, Mr. Nan Xomit, a leader of those refugee workers, unveiled before the Tribunal these atrocious crimes committed by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique (Minutes of on-the-spot investigation at Chup).

II — MASSACRE OF RELIGIOUS PRIESTS AND BELIEVERS, ERADICATION OF RELIGIONS, SYSTEMATIC EXTERMINATION OF NATIONAL MINORITIES WITHOUT DISTINCTION BETWEEN OPPONENTS AND NON-OPPONENTS, FOR THE PURPOSE OF ASSIMILATION; EXTERMINATION OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS.

The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique ordered shelling of pagodas and Islamic mosques, destroyed pagodas and churches, forced the priests to give up their

saffron robes, to quit places of worship and join "communes" for hard labour. Statues of Buddha and objects of worship were damaged or destroyed. Many pagodas were turned into depots for rice, manure or arms. More serious still many pagodas were transformed into jails or concentration camps for re-education, and places of torture and grounds for the killing of a great number of our compatriots.

Bonze Long Sim, of Phnom Penh, revealed at the Asian Buddhist Congress that there had been in Kampuchea 2,800 pagodas (with 82,000 bonzes) but under the Pol Pot regime none was left.

A witness, Bonze Tep Vong of Bo pagoda, Siem Reap town, declared before the Tribunal:

"The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique killed 57 bonzes at Prey Look, Cham So village, So To district, Siem Reap province. In this province there were 173 pagodas and 4,700 bonzes. The religious men were forced to abandon their robes, to go working at the 'communes' and to get married, young or old."

Many bonzes were tortured and beaten to death. Hundreds of Buddha statues made of stone or wood were destroyed, some of these were historical relics hundreds of years old. Religious books were all burnt. The pagodas of Pa Kon (Sot Nikum district) of Sosay, Phnom Trung Pat (Kompong Thkhau village, Kralanh district, Siem Reap province) were turned into places of torture and massacre.

The cathedral of the Christian community in the heart of Phnom Penh was blown up by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

Yun Yat, Pol Pot—Ieng Sary's Minister of Culture and Propaganda, confirmed this policy of eliminating religions in his talk with Yugoslav journalists. He said: "Buddhism is a tool for exploitation, that is why there is no longer any question of Buddhism".

Together with Buddhism, Islam was also eliminated even more ruthlessly, as the policy toward this religion was closely linked with the fascist policy of forcible assimilation of the national minorities including those with Muslim faith.

According to the report on national minorities, after 17 April 1975, along with their policy of forcible and immediate assimilation, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique tracked down all the Muslim priests in order to exterminate them:

—Grand Mufti Hari Roslos, Imam of the Muslim community, was killed at Sonchon hamlet, Peamchor district, Prey Veng province.

—Mufti Hachi Sleyman Sokri, first deputy Imam, had his skull smashed.

—Mufti Hachi Natobo Sleyman, second deputy Imam, was killed in Battambang province.

—Hachi Matly Haron, former President of the Central Committee of the Muslim Society of Kampuchea, was killed in Kandal province.

All the 114 Islamic mosques were destroyed. The most beautiful ones were razed to the ground by explosives or bulldozers.

With a view to forcing the national minorities to forsake Islam and finding a pretext for massacring them, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique compelled them to eat pork, contrary to their customs and

Islamic precepts. Those who refused to do so were killed on the spot. Anyone caught using his mother tongue was also killed.

The Muslim population of many hamlets, villages and even districts was exterminated for daring to oppose forcible assimilation.

Abdul Kodom, a Muslim and a doctor, denounced: "The district of Kompong Seam, province of Kompong Cham, had 5 hamlets with a total Muslim population of about 20,000, but not a single inhabitant survived."

Kompong Meas district, Kompong Cham province, had 7 hamlets with about 20,000 Muslim inhabitants too, of whom only 4 survived.

90 per cent of the Muslim population were exterminated for the only reason that they wanted to keep their religion and preserve their mother tongue.

In order to escape total extermination some 3,000 Muslims had to flee to Thailand and later settled in Malaysia.

As regards other ethnic minorities like the Thai, troops were used to exterminate them, as was the case with the Thai population of Koh Kong province on 25 May 1975.

Formerly in Koh Kong province there were about 20,000 Thai people but after liberation on 7 January 1979, only 8,000 survived. Many hamlets formerly inhabited by 500—600 Thai families now have only 5 to 7 families left. Of the 700 Thai families living formerly in Kopaki township, only 30 are left (Report on national minorities).

Mr Buon Thoong, a cadre of Tapuon minority, Rattanakiri province, affirmed that tens of thousands of ethnic minority people in the North-Eastern Zone had been massacred in areas around the town of Stung Treng. Many leading cadres belonging to ethnic minorities who had been able and respected men were killed. Among them were Regional Secretary Seda, of the Lao minority, and Regional Committee member Chanden, also of the Lao minority. Nearly all cadres of ethnic minorities from the provincial down to village level who had taken part in the resistance against US aggression were massacred.

Foreign residents including Chinese, Vietnamese and those who had close relations with them, like Khmer-Chinese or Khmer-Vietnamese, were massacred. Tens of thousands of Chinese and Vietnamese were persecuted and killed. Tens of thousands of Chinese had consequently to take refuge in Vietnam.

The population of Stung Treng have discovered a lake with an area of some 10 hectares, lying southeast of the town, which is full of human remains. Those are the bones of some 2,000 Vietnamese victims.

III — FORCIBLE EVACUATION OF THE POPULATION FROM PHNOM PENH AND OTHER LIBERATED TOWNS AND VILLAGES ; BREAKING OR UPSETTING OF FAMILY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES ; MASS KILLING AND CREATION OF LETHAL CONDITIONS.

After Phnom Penh was liberated on 17 April 1975, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique immediately ordered the population to leave the city without

any exception within three days. Forced at gun-point, they were deceptively told that they "would have to go for a few days to escape an expected bombing by the U.S. air force and to allow the revolutionary forces to wipe out the enemy in the capital". The more than two million inhabitants had thus to leave the city. Those who refused to leave or procrastinated or showed any opposition, were beaten or shot dead. Old folk, disabled people, children, pregnant women, patients just operated on, all had to evacuate the city.

A number of small children abandoned in kindergartens ate excrement, drank urine and finally died of starvation.

Without any preparations, deprived of all daily necessities and without knowing where to go or what to do, endless files of people were forced to go to trek, rain or shine, to remote places. At checkpoints, Pol Pot—Ieng Sary soldiers robbed them of almost all the possessions they had left.

Tens of thousands of people died on the roadsides or in the bush, of starvation, diseases, exhaustion, were shot or beaten to death by Pol Pot soldiers.

Phnom Penh, the capital city, became completely lifeless.

On the following days, other cities and townships suffered the same fate as Phnom Penh. Such was the case of Battambang with 200,000 inhabitants, Svay Rieng with 130,000, Kompong Chhnang with 60,000, Kompong Speu with 60,000, Siem Reap with 50,000.

At the Tribunal, representatives of various strata of the Phnom Penh population, as was mentioned

in reports on the investigation of conditions in the capital city during the first days following the 17 April 1975 event, have related, "During the long journey to remote places, a great majority of Phnom Penh inhabitants, especially old folk, children, pregnant women, sick and disabled people, died in horrible conditions from lack of food, medicine or midwives' care."

Mrs. Yasuko Naito, a victim of Japanese nationality, native of Tokyo, who was living in Phnom Penh, denounced:

"In the afternoon of 17 April 1975, Pol Pot — Ieng Sary troops used megaphones to call on the Phnom Penh population to leave their houses. They opened fire on houses with closed doors... On my way, I met patients who had been forced out of Calmette hospital and other hospitals, some accompanied by nurses and with blood transfusion needles still struck to their arms. Some had been operated on only a few hours before, the cuts were still bleeding, with swarms of flies around them. All were in white clothes. This sight made me think of a picture of hell I had seen somewhere..."

During this forced evacuation, Mrs. Yasuko Naito lost all her family: her husband and two children were slain.

The above-mentioned crimes committed by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique were premeditated and planned, as may be seen in a captured document which says that the evacuation of the population of cities makes the revolution in Kampuchea different from those in other countries. "It is a total destruction of the feudal regime and the capitalist

regime. We disperse enemy forces to the countryside so as to wipe them out."

At a press conference in Beijing on 2 October 1977, Pol Pot said, "This policy had been worked out before the April 1975 victory, for we were not strong enough to defend the revolution in face of attacks by enemy intelligence organizations of all kinds... The enemy forces were dispersed to the cooperatives under our control, in this way we have the situation in hand."

After having evacuated the people from big cities and urban centres, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique put up the label of "extending land reclamation to enrich the country" to forcibly relocate the population in the countryside, especially in the former occupied areas, according to a definite plan. This was the case of the population of the eastern provinces near the common border with Vietnam who had to move to the west and the north, because Kampuchean and Vietnamese living in the border area had friendly relations which had been built up in the course of their common struggle against the French, the US imperialists and their lackeys. The population of the provinces of Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, and Takeo were forced to move to the provinces of Pursat and Battambang in the West while the population in the west near the common border with Thailand had to move to the east, etc.

Like the population of cities and towns, the rural population in many provinces was also severely affected by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary policy. They were forced to leave their homes and were separated

from their dear ones. They too were robbed of their belongings and forced to move to other provinces.

Mr. Khieu Kola in Kandal said that in August 1975 he was put on a truck and sent to Pursat without any explanation. He was not allowed to take anything with him. At Pursat he had to sleep in the open. Hundreds of other people had to live in the same conditions. Furthermore, Pol Pot soldiers came to rob them of their belongings. Each day 4 or 5 persons died, he said.

Mr. Tukhol's family comprising 13 persons was split into two: 8 were taken to Battambang, 5 to Kompong Thom.

IV — HERDING OF PEOPLE INTO "COMMUNES" I.E. DISGUISED CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHERE THEY WERE FORCED TO WORK AND LIVE IN THE CONDITIONS OF PHYSICAL AND MORAL DESTRUCTION, WERE MASSACRED OR DIED IN LARGE NUMBERS.

1. **Physically**, the people were put to do hard labour like slaves. They had not enough to eat, wore in rags and were condemned to a slow death from exhaustion and disease.

The urban population and the rural people in the newly liberated areas were expelled from their localities. And after a long and bloody journey, they arrived in new places where they were sent to the "communes". There they were forced to do hard labour because "thorough and all-sided revolution" had to be carried out, and "to have rice is to have everything".

The labour force was divided into male and female groups living and working separately. The working people, including children and old folk, had to work 10 to 16 hours a day, using rudimentary tools, sometimes only bare hands. Their daily ration was only a bowlful of rice with salt. At certain periods there was only thin rice gruel. The "communes" were placed under the control of agents, many of whom lost all human character. These agents forced people to work day and night. Any violation of the labour discipline would result in: beating, cutting of the daily ration, harder work, and in more serious cases, the person to be punished would be taken to a forest and beaten to death. Obviously, communes were only huge concentration camps to detain the majority of the Kampuchean people. Lacking food, medicine and medical care, clothed in rags, living in miserable huts, their nerves always strained, people were dying a slow death, physically and morally. The largest number of dead was among old folk, pregnant women, those with babies and children, as those people were not able to work and received reduced food rations. Many women became sterile.

In a number of seized documents, some Party committees and administrative committees at different levels could not cover up this tragic reality.

The minutes of the Party Conference in the Eastern Zone in 1977 admitted, "Since May 1977, the people's living conditions have worsened, especially in Krauchmar, Piemchi Lang, Kosso Tinh and Muk Gomul districts where the people have been suffering greatly from privations and have

only thin rice gruel to eat. Though exhausted, they have to work hard, digging irrigation canals, doing farm work..."

The report on the situation in Kompong Ro district, Svay Rieng province, during the first six months of 1977 read, "The population in the communes suffered from many diseases such as cholera, dysentery, eruptive fever, whooping-cough, consumption, hemoptysis, typhoid fever, beriberi, etc."

Mrs. Denise Affonço who used to live in Phnom Penh, was sent to a commune. She said that as she was hungry all the time, she had to eat scorpions, cockroaches, etc. One day, as she tried to get a piece of raw hide from a dog, she was bitten by the animal.

Mrs. Affonço also denounced that a man named Touch in the same commune who stealthily rooted up a manioc plant, simply because he was too hungry, was condemned to death. More barbarous still, the murderers had roasted his liver and ate it on the spot.

Mr. Koc Choi of Kompong Chhnang denounced that as Mr. Ket's family of 8 persons had eaten some stolen rice, all the members were killed in June 1977.

2. **In the moral aspect**, all social relations were abolished, and man was turned into a solitary slave. The right to freedom of expression and independent thinking was also abolished.

The division into male and female groups for working together, eating together and living together completely destroyed the family structure. Children above 6 years of age were separated from their parents. When they reached the age of 13 or

14, they were sent to mobile shock brigades for building irrigation networks or reclaiming land outside their villages.

Children were taught to be loyal to Angkar only, some were assigned to eavesdrop when their parents were talking and report to Angkar.

If a person disappeared, his relatives dared not inquire about him, for fear of being also killed.

According to Soklimut of Pursat, Mrs. Sok Bun was killed simply because she had dared to lament the death of her husband.

Love between men and women constitutes a normal social relation existing in every social system. This, however, was strictly forbidden under the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime.

According to Pol Pot — Ieng Sary directives, marriage in the "communes" and in the army should be carried out upon the designation of Angkar or army unit commanders.

A number of seized documents on instructions and resolutions by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary Party were quite explicit in this matter. Take for instance the resolution of November 1978 which stipulated: "Families should be built according to the established line... This method proves to be the best one and should be maintained".

Freedom of love was forbidden on the ground that young people should concentrate their efforts on agricultural production. Collective marriages were organized for couples upon designation by Angkar contrary to traditional customs.

If lovers seriously violated those regulations, their throats would be cut in public.

Young lovers who attempted to run away from the communes were punished like criminals.

According to the report on the investigation made by representatives of various social strata in Phnom Penh, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique forced widows to marry invalid soldiers, as was the case of Mrs. Nguon Vuoch Ny, Bachelor of Arts (literature), and 19 other women. They all refused. The 20 women were jailed. Mrs. Ny committed suicide to remain faithful to her husband, while the 19 others were raped, then killed.

In another case, girls in a shock brigade were forced to line up face to face to invalids and each was ordered to marry the man in front of her. This forced marriage caused the suicide of two girls.

In order to drive the citizens into a state of utter isolation, right after 17 April 1975, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique abolished money, trade, markets, postal communications and transport services. In fact, practically all citizens were under house arrest. All relations with the outside world, or with family and friends were forbidden, so were cultural relations.

Angkar kept a strict control over the population with a large network of secret agents spying day and night. If someone uttered a careless word, he would be “invited to a meeting” then liquidated.

Witness My Sam Bach said, “Mr. Suot and his wife talked at night about the harsh regime of the commune. Angkar learnt of this and the next day the couple and their four children were beaten to death”.

The population underwent untold hardships, were ruthlessly repressed and threatened. This was the reason why whole families committed suicide by eating poisonous leaves or drowning themselves in rivers.

Witness Kham Nari denounced the harsh life in Paroi Lovea commune of Takeo province. Starting with 28,000 members, in January 1979 after liberation by the NUFSK there remained only less than 5,000.

V — MASSACRE OF SMALL CHILDREN, PERSECUTION AND MORAL POISONING OF THE YOUTH, TRANSFORMING THEM INTO CRUEL THUGS DEVOID OF ALL HUMAN FEELINGS.

Children above 6 years of age were not allowed to live with their parents, and were forced to pasture cattle and collect cow dung. Those over 10 had to do very hard work just like adults. They were not allowed to go to school or to play (According to witnesses Ung Peck, Denise Affonço, Thon Sray, and the report on the investigation by the Ministry of Education).

Khieu Samphan, Head of State of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary's Kampuchea, praised this exploitation of child labour in the following terms, "Our children enjoy themselves in building dykes, digging ponds and irrigation canals".

Taking care of orphans was forbidden on the ground that their parents had offended Angkar. Many orphans had to lead a wandering life and were not admitted into "communes". Children caught in the act of begging were beaten to death.

Mrs. Duong Ma La from Kompong Thom denounced that begging orphans were killed by Angkar.

Children were put to death and eaten by Pol Pot — Ieng Sary soldiers. Such was the fate of the younger brother of Miss Chhai Sani of Kandal and of Huor, 13, whose parents, elder brothers and elder sisters had died during the forced evacuation. The latter boy, who is now living in an orphanage at Siem Reap, declared that Pol Pot — Ieng Sary soldiers had eaten two little girls. And as they were trying to cut his throat, somebody came and the soldiers fled. He still has a big scar on his neck.

Apart from ill-treatment and persecution, the policy of Pol Pot — Ieng Sary was to use children in spying in the communes and to forcibly enlist children under 15 into army units or mobile shock brigades. Angkar considered children to be pure and loyal to them. Accordingly they trained children to use them in wars against neighbouring countries and in campaigns of repression against their own compatriots. A document of the conference of the Northern Zone on 15 July 1977 read, "Small children should be used as a core. Only in so doing can we build up our Party, build up a core, because children will grow up with the movement".

VI — UNDERMINING OF STRUCTURES OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY; ABOLITION OF CULTURE, EDUCATION AND THE HEALTH SERVICE.

1. Prior to 1975, Kampuchea, though not industrially developed, had hundreds of factories in the State and private sectors. Phnom Penh alone had 37 factories with from 12,000 to 13,000 workers.

Besides, the country had 3,700 units of handicraft production supplying consumer goods and art goods for home needs and for export. In agriculture, the country had fairly developed rice culture, animal breeding and fishing.

During their four years in power Pol Pot and Ieng Sary destroyed the structure of the national economy. Under the slogan "to have rice is to have everything", they completely destroyed handicrafts. Industrial production was almost at a standstill. More than 50% of the factories were closed down, machinery and equipment became unusable, as at the cement works with a capacity of 50,000 tons per year and the glassware works with a capacity of 40,000 tons per year. Prior to 1975, the sawmill had 180 workers for each shift, now only 10 are left. Engineers and technicians were all put to death. Skilled workers were compelled to go to the countryside to be employed in agricultural production: many were killed. The policy of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary was not to use workers of the old regime. Those who were employed to train apprentices were killed when the training was completed.

Prior to 1975, fishing yielded from 100,000 to 140,000 tons a year. Under Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, the figure was reduced to 20,000 — 30,000 tons.

With regard to communications and transport, in 1969 Kampuchea had 9,700 trucks, 1,300 buses, the ports of Kompong Som and Phnom Penh, railway and waterway networks for the transport of passengers and goods. Under the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime these means of transport were used mainly for military purposes or for the transport of goods

to be exported to Beijing. The public transport service was put to an end.

The postal and telephone service was abolished. Post offices stopped functioning. They even suppressed money, and destroyed the Central Bank building in Phnom Penh. The people were not allowed to hold markets or to trade.

The extremely reactionary economic policy of Pol Pot — Ieng Sary caused the productive forces to be seriously impaired ; the national economy was ruined. As a result, the population were living miserably, lacking food, daily necessities and clothes. An extremely reactionary policy of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary was to concentrate and destroy almost all the belongings of the urban and rural population, which they considered as vestiges of capitalism. The population was forced to wear only black clothes. They were not allowed to wear shoes, sandals, to possess such cooking utensils as pots, pans, etc.

(Report on the investigation of the economic situation).

While the population were living on thin rice gruel, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique exported rice to Beijing in exchange for weapons and war materials, so as to build up a fascist army, an instrument for repression, purges and waging wars against the neighbouring countries. This army increased from 7 divisions in 1975 to 23 in 1978.

In order to increase the export of rice in 1978, at a session of study of the 1978 State Plan, Pol Pot said, "In 1978 we must export to China from 100,000

to 150,000 tons of rice, and from 20,000 to 25,000 tons of rubber. The contract has been signed and we cannot do otherwise."

2. Concerning culture and education, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique advocated total abolition of our culture and education, and destruction of the cultural and educational establishments.

According to the report on the investigation by representatives of various strata of the Phnom Penh population, the damage in the field of culture is extremely serious. Right after 17 April 1975 the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique destroyed 5 principal libraries in Phnom Penh and many other important libraries of the universities and scientific institutes. The National Library was turned into a crockery storehouse. A great number of valuable art objects were either destroyed or taken away.

Out of 1,225 objects and relics of traditional culture, more than one half were either destroyed or taken away. Out of the total number of 1,241 artists of various branches only 121 survive (Report on the situation of national culture).

Before Pol Pot and Ieng Sary took office, the country had 9 universities and colleges with more than 30 faculties comprising 11,000 students and 725 professors. Under Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, all educational establishments were closed down and became either prisons, such as Tuol Sleng, or depots of weapons or fertilizers. Now there are only 2 or 3 university professors left. Out of 2,300 secondary school teachers there remain only 200. Out of 21,311 primary school teachers there remain only 2,793.

3. With regard to the health service, according to an investigation report, there were 62 hospitals with nearly 6,000 beds. Under Pol Pot and Ieng Sary all these institutions were closed down. Out of the 19 professors of medicine, none is left. Out of 462 doctors there remain 54. Out of 156 pharmacists there remain now only 15.

There was one medicine and pharmacy college with 2,124 students and one dentistry institute with 847 students. Both were suppressed.

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique instead organized 3-month courses to train a number of loyal cadres into “barefoot doctors”. These people knew nothing about medical science and moreover lacked professional responsibility. They considered patients as objects of experiments, as in Kompong Cham hospital where a group of surgeons opened the chest of a patient just to see his heart, though he had no heart disease.

In another case, one patient died of kidney trouble. They operated on the dead body to take out the kidney, then took out the kidney of a healthy man to make a comparison.

VII — AFTER THEIR OVERTHROW BY THE GENUINE REVOLUTIONARY FORCES, THE POL POT — IENG SARY CLIQUE STILL PERSISTED IN OPPOSING THE REVOLUTION AND COMMITTED NEW CRIMES IN MASSACRING THOSE WHO REFUSED TO FOLLOW THEM.

In their flight the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary gang compelled part of the population to follow them to

their hide-outs. Wherever they went, they plundered, destroyed crops, burnt rice granaries.

They carried out bloody repression against those who opposed them and wanted to return to live under the genuine revolutionary regime.

The liberation of Am Leang, a commune in Kompong Speu province, saved the lives of 60,000 people. These people denounced that the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique massacred 12,000 persons including soldiers of their own army who had been wounded or had lost all fighting spirit, and workers at the Kompong Chhnang airfield, and others.

At the Champus Kek prison in Kandal province, on the morning of 7 January 1979, before fleeing the head of the district came in person and together with his soldiers killed some 200 persons still detained, among them men, women and children. Then they fled without burying the corpses of the victims.

On 21 January 1979 at Kot Kao Che Hamlet, Men Thy May village, Men Xa Cot district, Battambang province, Pol Pot—Ieng Sary men took 100 inhabitants to the forest and beat them to death. Mr. Soc Mut who together with his three children had succeeded in surviving testified before the Tribunal about these crimes of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique.

Kampuchean who had fled to Thailand and were subsequently driven back were all considered as guilty of high treason and consequently put to death.

VIII — DURING THEIR FOUR YEARS IN POWER THE
POL POT — IENG SARY CLIQUE USED MOST
BARBAROUS METHODS OF TORTURE AND KILL-
ING.

Pol Pot — Ieng Sary men massacred hundreds, thousands and even tens of thousands of persons at a time without firing a single bullet. They led files of tied-up victims to the brink of a newly-dug pit, and the executioners standing on both sides used spade handles or pick handles or bamboo clubs to hit violently at the victims' necks and pushed the corpses down into the pit. When the pit was full of corpses, they used bulldozers to cover it with earth and proceeded to another pit to continue the killing until all the victims had been disposed of.

Many medieval methods were resorted to such as cutting a man's throat with a palm-leaf, disembowelling and taking out human livers to eat, taking human gall bladders to make, after drying, a medicine, using gallows, etc.

Women were stripped of clothing, tied to trees and the thugs thrust pointed sticks or M. 79 shells into their sexual organs until they died.

They tied victims together and used bulldozers to crush them or killed them with electric shocks or explosives.

Suspected opponents were buried or burnt alive or were cut up piece by piece or were thrown into crocodile-breeding lakes.

Children were put into plastic bags which were tied up and hung on branches until they died of

suffocation. The criminals also threw children into a dry well, soaked them with gasoline and burned them alive. The executioners laughed while the children were agonizing.

The criminals amused themselves by throwing children into the air and catching them on bayonets, thus piercing their bodies. Another amusement consisted in tearing up children's feet, etc.

Many victims were submitted to live surgery with ordinary knives to satisfy their criminals' curiosity about human bodies, male and female.

If the victims were high-ranking cadres, after beheading them, the executioners put the heads back on the corpses, stuck a number and took photos so that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary themselves might be convinced that their order had been carried out.

They let the corpses of the victims rot in the pits, then ordered the inhabitants to dig up the remains for use as manure. In case some parts of the corpses had not sufficiently disintegrated, they ordered the inhabitants to tear them up into smaller pieces.

At some places such as Siem Reap, they heaped corpses into cremation furnaces with a layer of corpses alternating with a layer of rice husk, poured gasoline and set fire. The ashes were used as fertilizer. If any bones were found to be insufficiently cremated, they ordered the inhabitants to grind them into powdered fertilizer. Today, those who did this gruesome task still shudder when thinking of it.

Witness Yen Ting in Kompong Cham said that for 7 days Pol Pot—Ieng Sary men used trucks to take 5,318 persons to the Xo Phia forest and used bulldozers to crush them to death.

Miss Chhay Sani said that Pol Pot soldiers had cut the throat of her brother, sliced off his flesh and wrapped it in leaves, and also killed her mother whose liver was eaten.

Mr. Sim Phia of Siem Reap confirmed before the Tribunal that Pol Pot's agents had thrown children and men into crocodile-breeding lakes in his province.

Messrs Cung Kari, Non Ne, Chevan Thom of Siem Reap testified about the cremation of human corpses at Do doan Terong hamlet, Kam Buon village, and at Phnom hamlet, Kompong Chean village, for the purpose of making fertilizer.

The Investigation Report of representatives of the Phnom Penh population read before the Tribunal has described as follows the Tuol Sleng prison, a centre for torture and detention of Phnom Penh inhabitants, "This prison was formerly a school. We saw rooms for torture and interrogation equipped with horrifying tools for torturing: electric shock devices, gallows, iron bars, knives and chains. In these rooms, there still were on the tiled floor heaps of hair which had been pulled out of the victims' heads, puddles of dried up blood.

"There remain on the walls and ceilings many blood stains. Gardens were turned into graveyards. There one can still find heaps of clothes of various types — clothes stripped off the victims before they were led into torture rooms and killed."

In Mr. Ung Pech's words, this is how a prisoner was tortured at the Tuol Sleng prison:

“ The prisoner sat on the ground, his hands and feet were chained to a table. One of the two thugs did the questioning, the other with a rod in his hand was ready to strike the prisoner at any moment. Women were stripped of their clothes before being led to the torture rooms; the pretty ones were raped.

“ Electric shock, hanging onto the ceiling by the feet, pulling of fingernails with pincers, wrapping the head with a plastic bag, suffocating with water poured through a towel covering the face were other methods of torture. ”

One can find in communes common graves where lie heaps of corpses, broken skulls, bones of limbs with binding ropes. Exhibits collected from the prisons of Tuol Sleng, Chup, Siem Reap, Battambang, etc. displayed for examination at the Tribunal are but a few among countless proofs of the genocide committed by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

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Upon the verification by the Tribunal of proofs of the above criminal acts as perpetrated by the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, the Tribunal rules that these acts were intended to achieve genocide.

Considering that the policy of carrying out the above-mentioned criminal acts has been discussed at meetings held by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, written down in such documents as resolutions, directives, teaching materials, etc. as presented in the Indictment Act of the Public Prosecutor citing

a large number of documents whose originals have been presented at the Tribunal for examination.

Considering that the acts of genocide carried out in accordance with the policy of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique were systematically perpetrated throughout Kampuchea with the same methods and under close guidance and supervision by Angkar at various levels.

The general investigation reports of the representatives of various services and organisations of the people's power with exact figures and tangible proofs, the minutes on field investigations conducted at sites of the crimes with pieces of evidence collected, witnesses' statements as well as material from foreign sources have proved that the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique's criminal acts are genocidal in purpose.

The defence has also admitted that it is well grounded to charge Pol Pot and Ieng Sary with genocidal acts and intent.

Considering that the criminal acts of the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have left extremely serious far-reaching consequences on social life; after 17 April 1975, we should have enjoyed peace and happiness and lived in solidarity and friendship with the fraternal neighbour countries. But during nearly four years when they were in power, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique set up a most brutal dictatorial militarist regime and traitorously acted against the interests of the country and the people, committed mass killings and resorted to medieval methods of torture and killing which are in some aspects more barbarous than those used by the

Hitlerite fascists. In many places they massacred the population of an entire hamlet, an entire village and in some cases of nearly a whole district, including children, old men and women, pregnant women, the invalid, the wounded, etc.

On the basis of the investigation reports of various public organs and mass organisations, the findings of a sample census conducted at a number of villages and streets, and of other available data, the Council of Judges establishes that the estimate of about three million persons having been killed by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique is well-grounded.

The extermination of about 40 per cent of the population has brought untold sufferings to millions of families and causes irretrievable losses to the country, an underdeveloped country just emerging from the resistance war against U.S. aggression, when the productive force consists mainly in the labour and creativeness of its industrious people. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the massacres included genuine patriots, workers, peasants, intellectuals, patriotic personalities, technicians, scientists, artists, writers, and the youth which is the main labour force. Especially the teenagers and the children were persecuted, physically ill-treated and morally corrupted; a large number were killed. The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique have destroyed the buds of the country.

Over four million who were left alive were herded into huge concentration camps to do hard labour and live like animals. Their lot was worse than slaves' in medieval times. They were hungry, clad

in rags and without medical care, and were seriously impaired physically. Morally, they were constantly threatened and spied on, separated from their families. They might be arrested and killed at any moment together with their dear ones. As a result of the victory of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council with the liberation of Phnom Penh on 7 January 1979, leading to the overthrow of the criminal Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, four million people were saved from genocide. Now that national liberation had been achieved and the danger of extermination warded off, there are problems of convalescence, eradication of dangerous diseases, bringing up orphans, caring for the invalid, stabilizing living conditions, etc. These tasks require so many things to be done, and it takes time to fulfil them so that the survivors may resume a normal life and go back to their national occupations.

Serious damage has also been done in the political, economic, cultural and social fields.

National unity has suffered enormous losses as a result of the reactionary policies of dividing the people into three categories to serve the purpose of extermination and of denying the existence of the ethnic minorities in the great family of fraternal nationalities, carrying out a fascist-type assimilation and liquidation of the leaders of various nationalities, and of the nationalities themselves.

Due to the genocidal policy of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, a considerable number of youths have been turned into executioners so bloodthirsty that they no longer show any traces of human nature and whose reformation demands great patience.

The friendship and solidarity between the peoples of the three Indochinese countries resulting from their struggle against the common enemy and for the maintenance of peace and stability in South-east Asia have been a precious tradition and a factor ensuring independence and prosperity for each nation. The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique have ended this fine tradition. They have sown hatred among fraternal nations. They have provoked armed conflicts with Thailand and Laos and waged a large-scale war against the Vietnamese people, treating friends as enemies. Waging a war of aggression against Vietnam while intensifying oppression of the people and purges among their own ranks, the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique caused tremendous losses in lives and property to our people, exhausting our national economy and driving our people into destitution. The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique have committed extremely barbarous war crimes against the people in the neighbour countries.

In external affairs, our international relations and prestige under the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime sunk low.

The crime of genocide committed by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique has raised a world-wide wave of condemnation and indignation, tarnishing the image and prestige of our country in the international arena.

In the economic, cultural and social fields, all scientific and technical institutions of the national economy, enterprises, schools, research institutes, hospitals were destroyed or turned into prisons or manure depots. Libraries and science books were burnt, markets and money were abolished. Large

sections of workers, peasants, scientists, technicians, professors, artists, etc. were eliminated. There was no school for our youth and children. Illiteracy was widespread. In fact, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique pushed Kampuchean society back to the slave age. The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique destroyed the conditions for the existence of our Kampuchean nation. Our nation was on the brink of extinction.

They have pushed back and impeded the development of our society, leaving behind extremely grave consequences which could not be remedied overnight. The problems to be solved are restoration of production, stabilization of the people's living conditions, supplying millions of people faced with imminent famine, construction of the material and technical bases for the national economy to proceed toward industrialization, training of scientific and technical cadres, etc.

They have wiped out all fine traditions and customs of our people and destroyed our age-old great Angkor civilization.

The family, the cell of society, has been destroyed, marriage was forced and culture ruined.

Family and social structures, economic foundations, cultural and educational establishments, the health service, religious institutions, all have been destroyed in the name of a "model society" described by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique as "genuine and pure socialism". In reality it is no more than slavery of a new type copied from a foreign country and has absolutely nothing to do with genuine socialism.

During nearly four years in power (1975-1979), the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique spared no devilish and perfidious tricks to concentrate power in their own hands, to maintain a dictatorial fascist regime and to practise nepotism. They carried out a policy of coercion and oppression on a large scale. They expelled the people from towns and cities, dislodged them and drove them from one region to another, classified them with a view to exterminating them, and they eliminated *en masse* all persons and organisations suspected of opposing them.

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique sought every means to oust and eliminate their political opponents from the Party. The murder of Comrade Son Ngoc Minh in Beijing is a case in point. During the year 1977-78 they liquidated those who were considered as hampering the exercise of their power, including Hu Nim, Minister of Information and Propaganda, Toch Phoeun, Minister of Public Works, So Phim, Vice-Chairman of the National Assembly, etc.

Due to their extremely reactionary domestic and foreign policies which were against the interests of the people and the nation, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique became more and more isolated politically, and were opposed by our entire people who rose up to fight against them on an ever larger scale in many localities. By 1978, the revolutionary movement under the banner of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, against the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, developed in the Eastern Zone and later in 5 out of the 7 zones of the country.

To maintain and consolidate their power, Pol Pot — Ieng Sary took fascist measures. They carried

out massacres and purges without let-up and with greater and greater ferocity, under the signboard of "class struggle", against individuals, organisations and communities labelled as reactionaries, opponents or potentially hostile elements.

The more ferociously their oppression was carried out, the more widespread their barbarous crimes extended, the more vigorously our people's struggle surged ahead and the more divided their followers became. Politically isolated at home and in the international arena, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique had to rely more and more on Beijing to maintain their power.

Pol Pot once said, "We have applied with creativeness and success Mao Zedong thought to the realities of Kampuchea. For Kampuchea, the most precious Chinese aid is Mao Zedong thought." (Pol Pot's speech on 28 Septembre 1977).

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique have constantly been encouraged and supported by the Beijing reactionaries while all progressive mankind indignantly condemned their crime of genocide. When he received Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, Mao Zedong said, "Comrades, you have won there a wonderful victory. With one blow you have got rid of social classes. The rural communes with poor and lower-middle peasants all over the country, that is our future."

In reality, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique closely colluded with the Beijing big-nation expansionist reactionaries and were dependent upon them. "People's Communes," that huge concentration camp, that slaughter-house for the Kampuchean people, were copied from the Chinese model. The

instigation of the youth and their use for killing Kampuchean including their own relatives were lessons learned from the Chinese "Cultural Revolution." The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique's policy of relying mainly on the poor and lower-middle peasants to carry out revolution negating the leadership of the working class is also a product of Mao Zedong's thought. The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique themselves admitted in a letter to the Beijing reactionaries, "We have been learning and we will learn continuously the precious experiences of the great cultural revolution and Mao Zedong Thought, the ever-victorious leading star." Hua Guofeng praised and encouraged the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique, "Comrades, you excel not only in destroying the old world, but also in building a new one, and you have won important victories in smashing the subversive and sabotage plots of the enemies..." (Hua Guofeng's speech at a banquet for Pol Pot in Beijing on 28 September 1977).

The devilish Beijing reactionaries seize this opportunity to interfere in Kampuchea's internal affairs. They tried to turn the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique into a shock brigade to carry out their expansionist strategy in Indochina and Southeast Asia, as confirmed by Mao Zedong in 1965, "We must take back the Southeast Asian region including Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore... Southeast Asia is very rich in mineral resources. It is well worth recovering. In the future, this region will contribute much to the development of Chinese industry. Thus, we can compensate for the losses..."

The Beijing reactionaries wanted to turn our country into a military base and a springboard for the realization of their big-nation expansionist scheme in Southeast Asia. They supplied the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique with massive military aid, installed in Kampuchea a network of thousands of military advisors to supervise this clique's activities, encouraged them to carry out a savage genocidal policy against our people, to provoke armed conflicts with Thailand and Laos and to step up their war of aggression against Vietnam. Without the Beijing reactionaries' assistance, encouragement and direction, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique could not have perpetrated the crime of genocide against our people on such a large scale and with such ferocity, provoked armed conflicts with the neighbouring countries and stepped up their war of aggression against Vietnam. In encouraging the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique to carry out their policy of genocide and destruction of Kampuchean social institutions, the Beijing reactionaries aimed at tightening their control over this clique and made them more dependent on Beijing. This is an extremely wicked plot of the Beijing reactionaries who confronted our nation with the danger of extinction which we succeeded in warding off thanks to the historic victory of 7 January 1979. After their overthrow, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique continued to have the Beijing reactionaries' support. The documents captured at the Tasseing base show that the Beijing reactionaries assured Ieng Sary of continued supply of financial aid, weapons and foodstuffs through Thailand and of installing for Pol Pot a radio station. Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping have worked

out a plan for the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique to rally Kampuchean reactionary forces to oppose the revolutionary power.

To sum up, since their coming to power the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique have consistently colluded with Beijing and together with Beijing, they carried out criminal acts against our people and the people of the neighbouring countries. No doubt, the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique against the Kampuchean people was masterminded by the Beijing reactionaries. No doubt, it was the Beijing reactionaries who used the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique to start a war of aggression against Vietnam in coordination with their plan of aggression against Vietnam in the North. In fact, shortly after the Pol Pot regime was overthrown the Beijing reactionaries launched an aggression against Vietnam with a force of 600,000 to avenge their defeat in Kampuchea, but they were completely defeated.

On the basis of Decree-law No. 1 of 15 July 1979 of the People's Revolutionary Council, with reference to international law on the punishment of the crime of genocide, including the 1948 Convention, we find that the above-mentioned criminal acts perpetrated by the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary with the intention of genocide do constitute a crime of "genocide".

The crime of genocide is defined in Article 1 of Decree-law No. 1 of 15 July 1979 in the following terms: "Planned mass killing of innocent people, forced evacuation of the population from cities and villages, concentration of the population and

forcing them to work in physically and morally exhausting conditions, abolition of religion, destruction of economic and cultural structures and of family and social relations.”

Considering that the crime of genocide committed by the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary with grave and far-reaching consequences is particularly serious, unprecedented in world history and much more serious than the definition of the crime of genocide in the 9 December 1948 International Convention. The accused not only exterminated the intellectuals, officers and civil servants of the previous regime, abolished religion, liquidated the ethnic minorities for the sole reason that they were intellectuals, officers and civil servants of the puppet administration, religious believers, ethnic minorities, etc., they also killed *en masse* and in a planned way innocent people of different social strata. The accused sought to exterminate their own people and their own nation and drive the people of different social strata to the danger of extinction.

The accused committed the crime of genocide not only in concentrating the people, oppressing them and forcing them to work in physically and morally exhausting conditions, but also in doing criminal acts in the cultural and economic fields.

They have denied the existence not only of the Kampuchean nation, but also of our national cultural traditions and they have destroyed family and social structures, the economic system, national culture and education, and the health service.

The accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary even sought to extirpate the national conscience and spirit of the Kampuchean people. They destroyed the conditions for the existence of the Kampuchean nation.

Considering that the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are found guilty of genocide on all counts as defined in Decree-law No. 1 of 15 July 1979:

- Planned massacre of innocent people;
- Forced evacuation of people from towns and villages;
- Concentrating people and forcing them to do hard labour in physically and morally exhausting conditions;
- Abolition of religion and destruction of economic and cultural structures and family and social relations.

After 7 January 1979, while most of those who had served in the armed forces and the government apparatus of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique have presented themselves and benefited from the lenient policy of the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, the accused still held on to the Beijing reactionaries and continued their betrayal of our nation and their opposition to the revolution.

The accused have deliberately used extremely cruel methods of torture and killing and savage means of persecution to demoralize people with a view to destroying them physically and morally. The grave consequence of their acts is that about three million persons lost their lives; over four

million who survive are suffering from serious injury physically and morally, and the victims include many teenagers and children.

Considering that the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have a record of collusion with each other in opposing the Kampuchean revolution; the accused mapped out together extremely reactionary domestic and foreign policies and organised and directed the implementation of such policies. They are held responsible for ordering and planning the perpetration of the crime of genocide. They are also held responsible for all the grave consequences due to their genocidal acts.

Considering that defence of justice and the just cause of the Kampuchean people and the response to the wishes of various sections of our people and world opinion demand a severe punishment of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary for their crime of genocide, with a view to preventing the repetition of such acts.

Considering that the testimonies made before the Tribunal, the pieces of evidence, the witnesses, including those from foreigners and famous lawyers in the world, have proved that an important factor of the crime, namely the instigation and aid from outside, must be denounced so as to stop it and prevent it, and to defend the right to life, independence and freedom of nations;

Considering that the defence has admitted that the criminal acts of genocide of which the defendants are accused have been fully proved. All the dossiers and deliberations before the Tribunal indicate no attenuating circumstances in favour of the

accused, but aggravating circumstances are numerous, particularly their continued betrayal of the nation.

Considering the personal responsibility of each of the accused :

Pol Pot, as Secretary of the Angkar (Party organisation) and Prime Minister, held the highest office to lead the entire State apparatus, mapped out home and foreign lines and policies and directed their implementation. Pol Pot himself on many occasions toured different localities to direct and inspect personally the purges of forces accused of opposing him and his clique. Pol Pot is an extremely dangerous criminal deserving no lenient treatment ;

Ieng Sary, as Standing Political Bureau member of the Angkar and Deputy Prime Minister in charge of foreign affairs, held high offices with real power, shared leadership with Pol Pot, built up and conducted the collusion with the Beijing reactionary forces and other international reactionaries, defended the criminal acts of genocide committed by his clique at international tribunals. Ieng Sary himself ordered the recall of intellectuals and students from abroad. It is Ieng Sary who is directly responsible for the execution of intellectuals and students living in the country or returning from abroad. Ieng Sary is an extremely dangerous criminal deserving no lenient treatment.

With the above-mentioned considerations,

Acting on Articles 1, 2, 7 and 8 of Decree-law No. 1 of 15 July 1979 of the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea,

THE COUNCIL OF JUDGES OF THE PEOPLE'S
REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL HELD
IN PHNOM PENH

RULES

1. That the accused Pol Pot alias Saloth Sar and Ieng Sary are guilty of the crime of genocide.

2. That the accused

— Pol Pot alias Saloth Sar and

— Ieng Sary

be condemned to death *in absentia*.

3. That all the properties of the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary be confiscated.

4. That all the pieces of evidence in the case be handed over to the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defence.

5. That the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are entitled to appeal to the People's Revolutionary Council for leniency within seven days as' from the date of posting the public notice of the judgment at the office of the Municipal People's Committee.

6. That the present judgment be affixed at the office of the Municipal People's Committee in Phnom Penh.

This trial is public and final.

*The President of the Sessions,
President of the
People's Revolutionary Tribunal
held in Phnom Penh*

**Pleading by HOPE R. STEVENS, Attorney and
Counsellor at Law, Member of the Bar of the United
States Supreme Court, Co-Chairperson of the Na-
tional Conference of Black Lawyers of the United
States and Canada, Defence Counsel**

Hon. Chief Justice, the Hon. Court,

Permit me to thank the Revolutionary Court for allowing me to appear before you as an advocate for the defense of the accused. I have not come from halfway around the world to give approval to monstrous crime nor to ask for mercy for the criminals. No! A thousand times no! Not at all! I would never be found in such a position. The reasons for my presence include the following points :

1. I belong to a minority in my own country whose present members and whose ancestors have been the victims of the same crime of genocide that has decimated the people of Kampuchea during the past few years.

2. My ancestors were kidnapped by force and violence, transported across the oceans from Africa, subjected to forced labor by the so-called civilized

Anglo-saxon white majority and irrespective of their high culture my people were deported to a strange and inhospitable environment to plant not rice, but cotton and sugar cane.

3. In order to accomplish that program the oppressors had to abolish the national culture of the victims, my people, and by the most horrible forms of torture, raping the women, mutilating the men, cutting off their feet, toes or hands when they tried to escape, tracking them down with blood hounds, and killing them when they refused to submit to the degrading life of slavery.

4. I am therefore by my history an expert on the subject of the crime of genocide, murder, rape, torture, mutilation, lynching and deprivation of human rights.

5. And up to now, the Supreme Court of my country nor the Congress which makes our laws have never ordered a trial condemning the criminal institution of slavery and the genocidal behavior of the society that practices that horrible criminal system—nor have the criminals who used those disgusting and inhuman methods against my people ever been “posthumously” tried, condemned, convicted, nor denounced “in absentia”. So you see, Hon. Chief Justice and the Court, I could not be present here to defend, condone or approve the awful crime of genocide against the beautiful and noble people of Kampuchea.

Then Hon. Chief Justice and the Court, you may ask me “Why are you here?”.

“Why am I here?”. “Why do I permit myself to speak as advocate for the accused?”.

The people of Kampuchea and you are entitled to a further explanation: I am here as the Co-Chairperson of the National Conference of Black Lawyers of the United States and Canada. In my country this organisation exists for the purpose of making sure that every person accused of crime has the opportunity of defending himself—the right to a fair trial before a court of competent jurisdiction. It exists to compel the Courts to hear what the accused has to say in his own defence or in mitigation of the crime with which he is charged before being convicted, or to hear what facts or testimony anyone else may have to offer in defense of the accused. We exist to see that the law is applied to all—without fear or favor, so that each accused may have “Equal Justice under Law”. I do not intend you to understand or to believe that we always succeed in this effort. Quite often in my country, the elements of racism and prejudice interfere to defeat our goals and to pervert and make mockery of justice and to condemn the innocent while the guilty go free.

But above all, I am here because the world is struggling to achieve the “Rule of Law”. This means that we all work to dissolve and defeat the misrule of violence, terror, barbarism and the effects of unjust Laws. Because only through just Laws, impartially enforced can justice ever be guaranteed to those accused of crime, be they guilty or innocent, and the cause of World Peace advanced.

So that I, with many other Lawyers from all parts of the world are here to seek to ensure that those accused of the unspeakable crimes that have

been alleged against them receive a fair trial. This trial here in Phnom Penh is being observed and will be analysed and discussed all over the world. Particularly will the enemies of World Peace and those who seek hegemony over the peoples of Kampuchea in particular and all of Indochina in general be looking to point out errors in the process of the trial. To defeat that opposition:

1. The trial must be shown to be by legally recognized means — before a *Court of Competent Jurisdiction*. What more original authority can there be than this Court appointed by the sovereign Revolutionary People's Council of Kampuchea? So this first important requirement of all recognized legal systems has clearly been met.

2. The proceed must be with "Due Process of Law": The rights of the accused must be respected; the trial must be in accordance with the law of the land; the testimony must be from persons having knowledge of the facts constituting the crimes there must be proof satisfactory to the Court that the accused were connected with the facts alleged either by personal participation or as principals of agents acting by their orders or in keeping with their policy or instructions.

3. The evidence must be deemed by the Court to be competent; it must be relevant; it must be material. It must be of a quality *to establish the proof for the Court beyond a reasonable doubt — in the opinion of the Court* — about the guilt (or the innocence) of the accused.

Honorable Chief Justice and the Court,

You have been listening for 3 days to the testimony of witnesses — you have heard the charges

as set forth in the indictment — at this point there should be no doubt — in fact there *can* be no doubt that one of the most disgusting and one of the most unspeakable series of crimes in the history of the world has been committed. Indeed, long before the date of this hearing — long before the success of the overthrow of the previous government of Kampuchea by the People's Revolutionary Forces, the world knew and understood the enormity of the shameless crime of genocide that had been carried out in the massacre and murder of some 3 million people in Kampuchea. So that the fact of the crime was and is clear and overwhelming. But *only* you have the duty and the authority and the obligation of deciding by law *now* "*who are the criminals?*". The places where the accused would stand in this Court are vacant. The accused are being tried "*in absentia*". *You* and *You alone* must now name the criminals whom you find guilty of the crimes as charged or otherwise. *You!* not the sorrowing people of Kampuchea — not the mothers and fathers left childless — not the thousands of children made orphans — not even the witnesses who called the names of the accused so often — not the stricken survivors who mourn their dead — not the holy men whose few members escaped extinction — nor the homeless wanderers and refugees whose lives have been forever broken — not the freedom loving peoples of the world who have shared the suffering and travail of the tortured Kampuchean citizens. No! although they doubtless have already reached their own verdict, the responsibility now falls on *you* legally to *name* the

perpetrators of these crimes — for — Honorable Chief Justice and the Court, I must call your attention to the important principle of law enshrined in most of the legal systems of the world that to *accuse* the defendants is by itself *not enough* — they are protected by the “*presumption of innocence*” — and this “*presumption of innocence*” continues right down to the moment when you — the Honorable Chief Justice and the Court render your verdict. Until that moment the Rule of Law requires that in spite of the feelings, the sorrow, the disgust, the impatience, the opinions anyone or all who suffer the agony caused by the holocaust of Kampuchea — all must await your decision. *You* — and *You alone* — will announce to the world the names of those who are responsible for this monstrous outrage against humanity whom you find guilty.

It is now clear to all that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary were criminally insane monsters carrying out a program the script of which was written elsewhere for them.

So that, if it were left to me and the other lawyers of the world who are present here, you would not have only Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and their agents and willing vassals standing judgement here ; in fairness to them we would have besides them as fellow-accused the manipulators of world imperialism, the profiteers of neo-colonialism, the fascist philosophers, the hegemonists, who are supporting zionism, racism, apartheid and reactionary regimes in the world, all these would be standing there with the false socialist leaders of fascist China —

awaiting the verdict and sharing the sentence of your decision.

In the meantime Honorable Chief Justice and the Court, we will entertain the hope that soon — and very soon — a wind of change will blow across the Gobi desert to where once a hundred flowers were invited to bloom ; that land where flowers have dried up, where one ugly, spiny cactus has survived to be nurtured, not only by a “Gang of Four” but also it seems by a group of despots of the kind of the former celestian emperors who have for the moment grasped and hold unscrupulous power for their own selfish ambition to extend regional and world hegemony by force and brutal violence, ready to sacrifice hundreds of millions of their own and other peoples to achieve their goals and who used the accused with success as their willing agents in perpetrating this awful crime of genocide against their own people of Kampuchea and who also used this poisoned cactus of fascism masquerading under the false cover of socialism directed by “thoughts” so twisted that not only many of the peace loving people of China, committed to decency and the respect for freedom and human rights, have been deceived by it, but all of them are for the moment enslaved by it. The traitors of Kampuchea were also ready-victims to this false doctrine guided and blinded by their power hungry leadership.

Our hope must be that another revolution — the revolution of true socialism, will soon again respond to the wind of change and restore China to the ranks of the freedom loving progressive peoples of the world in search of World Peace.

Then, and only then, will it be possible for Kampuchea and her valiant people, together with Laos and the brave Vietnamese nation to join hands with their peace-loving neighbors from the North and work with love for genuine and lasting friendship.

Honorable Chief Justice and the Court, the burden in the days ahead falls on all of us to forge the links of solidarity through world opinion and action to prevent such a shameful and terrible challenge from ever again being presented to people anywhere. Only thus can true World Peace be assured and its benefits brought to all mankind.

Honorable Chief Justice and the Court, we and the world await your verdict — “*LET RIGHT BE DONE*”.

**Pleading by MOHAMMED HIKMET TURKMANEE,
Advocate at the Court of Appeal of Damascus (Syria),
Counsel for the Plaintiffs in the concurrent
civil action**

Mr President,
Members of the People's Revolutionary Tribunal,

Allow me to thank you for the honour of the right to plead for the plaintiffs on the prosecution's side before your honourable Tribunal despite my being a foreign lawyer.

I would like as well to express my gratitude to my Khmer colleagues for having given me the opportunity to bring my modest contribution, in this historic trial, to the defence of countless widows and orphans and victims of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary regime, which will remain one of the bloodiest regimes even known in human history.

As representative of the Khmer society and on behalf of the Khmer people and State, Mr Prosecutor has pronounced a complete and convincing indictment. He has been able, with talent, competence and objectivity to convince you by supplying you with a great deal of evidence on the guilt of the accused, who, unfortunately, are not sitting on the bench of the accused, having preferred to flee the country and continue their crimes.

I would like to address you both as a lawyer and as a human being for, in this case, not only are the universal principles of law concerned, but also the essential foundations of humanity. Nobody could remain indifferent to the ordeal the Khmer people went through during the terrible days and the bloody nights from April 1975 to January 1979.

Nobody could remain untouched by the systematic genocide of millions of men and women, of all ages and conditions, committed with premeditation and in cold blood by the accused Pol Pot, Ieng Sary and their clique, or by the series of indescribable sufferings which ensued and the terrible consequences the genocide has caused and will cause to the martyred Khmer people.

For my part, on behalf of the Plaintiffs, I will confine myself to submitting to you some general remarks about:

1. The personal penal responsibility of the two accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

2. The political responsibility of certain countries in the genocidal crime perpetrated by the above-mentioned accused.

I — Personal penal responsibility of the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary:

Juridically, you have to settle two main questions: firstly that of the value of the evidence presented by the prosecution and secondly, if your conviction is established, that of the juridical qualification of the charges brought against the accused.

You will equally have to study whether there are mitigating circumstances in favour of the accused or whether, on the contrary, there are aggravating

circumstances deriving notably from the premeditation of the crime and the use of barbarous methods to perpetrate the crime.

1. Evidence of the charges against the accused given in the indictment has been obtained through all the means of evidence commonly admitted in criminal proceedings in all countries.

The testimonies by numerous witnesses during the sittings of this Tribunal, perfectly sincere and sometimes so moving and pathetic, are quite clear, formal, detailed and in concordance.

They can, moreover, be corroborated by all Kampuchean survivors, whether they be Khmers or members of a national minority, Buddhists, Muslims or Christians. It would be enough to open the doors of your Tribunal to have thousands of testimonies which confirm those which have been heard at the trial. Each foreign guest has heard the same stories told by Kampucheans he has met.

Furthermore, the testimonies officially recorded by your Tribunal from people of various social conditions are amply confirmed by the confessions of the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique's agents and above all by the official documents written by the two accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

They are also corroborated by the films shown, by the investigations made on the mass graves, by the objects shown as evidence, by the enquiries carried out not only by the authorities of the People's Republic of Kampuchea but also by journalists from all over the world in the camps of Khmer refugees in Thailand and in Vietnam, and finally by the latest statements made by the former Kampuchean Head of State Norodom Sihanouk, who

was until quite recently the spokesman of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime.

Thus there exist all proofs of the guilt of the accused Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. They are plentiful, incontestable and convincing.

2. The juridical status of the charges against Pol Pot and Ieng Sary is both the crime of genocide and various crimes of common law.

Genocide is a crime against humanity, the definition of which derives from the jurisprudence of the Nuremberg Trial and from international law, notably the 9 December 1948 International Convention on the prevention and condemnation of the crime of genocide.

The Decree which set up your Tribunal restated the factors which constitute that crime such as they have been universally admitted and notably the massive extermination of the population.

As the condemnation of genocide by international law is prior to the charges against the accused, they cannot justifiably invoke the rule of non-retrospectivity of penal legislation.

So far as the applicable penalties are concerned, Decree No. 1 of 15 July 1979 of the People's Revolutionary Council applies the principle existing in all penal legislation under which the instigator of the crime is punishable for the offence, and often more severely than the actual performer of the crime.

Statements and questioning have fully established that Pol Pot and Ieng Sary did commit the crimes with which they are charged: that is, they organized and directed the execution of the crime of genocide.

Three million human beings, that is three-eighths of the population of Kampuchea, were exterminated in particularly cruel and barbarous conditions.

If a crime of such scale had been committed in France, out of the 50 million there would have been 18,750,000 victims. If it had been committed in the USA, it would have caused 75 million victims.

Pol Pot and Ieng Sary are among the greatest criminals of history.

They resemble Hitler and his agents both by the number of victims and by the barbarous character of the methods used.

All the juridical principles deriving from the Nuremberg Trial can be applied to them.

But their sinister originality is that they committed their crimes in time of peace and cannot even invoke the needs of war.

Moreover, they attacked not only the ethnic and religious minorities but also the Khmers themselves, who were the main objectives of their crimes and in their own country by destroying the economic, financial, social and cultural structures.

There is in their crimes a factor which can be compared to the aggravating circumstance which exists, in ordinary criminal law, in the authors of crimes such as parricide and infanticide.

All their policy was based on the violation of all fundamental freedoms and rights proclaimed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights up to and including the right of all human beings to life.

And among the revolting crimes against fundamental freedoms that the accused have perpetrated, we should stress the elimination of religions in

general and the absolute liquidation of Islamic religion in Kampuchea through the systematic extermination of Muslims, men, women and children. Only those who managed to hide their faith could survive.

The Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique is banished by mankind.

It is the right and the duty of your Tribunal to punish the crime of genocide they have committed and to do justice to the victims and the Kampuchean people.

But there exists in this case another aspect which the Plaintiff deems it its duty to raise, that is the political responsibility of third parties in the genocide.

II — Political responsibilities :

The political responsibilities of the Beijing government in the crimes of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique are terrible and obvious.

Pol Pot and Ieng Sary claim kinship to the Beijing ideology, whose foreign policy they followed and some of whose institutions they copied, including the notorious “people’s communes” in home affairs.

The “people’s communes”, real concentration camps of hard labour and extermination, played a fundamental role in the carrying out of the crime of genocide.

The Chinese authorities could not have been unaware of the crime of genocide of which millions of Kampuchians were victims, since they had an embassy in Phnom Penh with a staff of several hundred who were the only foreigners allowed to move freely throughout the territory of Kampuchea.

Although they were aware of the crimes committed, as is proved by the record of the conversation between Deng Xiaoping and Ieng Sary (Document 2.5.18), they continued to give the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique economic and military aid which allowed them to continue their crime of genocide and wars of aggression against neighbour countries, particularly Viet Nam.

The Counsel for the Plaintiffs considers that the attitude of the Chinese authorities was an encouragement for the criminals Pol Pot and Ieng Sary and that their role was one of moral and political responsibility in the crime of genocide committed by the accused.

A moral and political responsibility of different sort rests with the Western countries.

Until January 1979, when Kampuchea was liberated by the NUFSK troops with the help of the Vietnamese army, these countries had denounced the crimes of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

Since then, paradoxically, they have taken the defence of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary by invoking the question of legitimacy.

The legitimacy of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique is based on systematic genocide. To seize power they not only exterminated officers and civil servants of the Lon Nol regime, but aware that their regime lacked any popular basis, they organized the evacuation of towns and villages, then the elimination of what they called "the enemy's social bases", that is intellectuals, city-dwellers, former revolutionary fighters, in short, the majority of the population.

In order to maintain power, that clique exterminated all the activists of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and members of the armed forces who opposed or were suspected of opposing them.

The Western press is now silent about the crimes committed by Pol Pot and Ieng Sary but support their intrigues before international bodies.

The same people who welcomed the entry of Tanzanian troops into Uganda and the fall of Idi Amin Dada raised objections about the liberation of the Kampuchean people from the terror of oppression, famine and extermination with the assistance of Vietnamese troops.

The families of the victims of genocide, the survivors of the blood-thirsty and barbaric tyranny of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique welcome with great relief the setting up of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. They are coming back to real life.

On their behalf, the Counsel for the Plaintiffs would like to demand not revenge but justice for the three million victims, through the exemplary punishment of their executioners, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique.

On their behalf, the Counsel for the Plaintiffs expresses the wish that those two monsters with human faces, the authors of a holocaust unequalled outside Europe, will not find a place of refuge in the world.

They have to pay for their crime.

**Statement of FRANCISCO VARONA DUQUE
ESTRADA, Vice-President of the Cuban People's
Supreme Tribunal, representative of the Cuban
Association of Lawyers**

Mr President,

Respected Judges,

On behalf of the Cuban Association of Lawyers, we wish to express our respect to the People's Tribunal held in Phnom Penh to judge the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique, as well as our gratitude for the honour given us to address the Tribunal.

We consider that the proceedings of the trial have proved, with all the formal legal rules, what constitutes a notorious fact known by all the inhabitants of this country, who have survived the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary regime, for they have experienced it. That is to say the accused have intentionally committed the crime of genocide against different sections of their own people, causing millions of victims.

We have had the opportunity to talk with witnesses, who are at the same time victims and who have survived Pol Pot Ieng Sary's crimes. We have had the chance of visiting centres of torture and

extermination, of ascertaining what is to be proved fully in the course of the trial: that is to say the accused have committed the crime they are accused of. In technical terms, they are the direct authors for having premeditated the crime and for having directed the execution of the crime of genocide, as provided for by international law.

There is, however, an aspect which it is interesting to examine: the degree of guilt of the accused not only in the intention of genocide which was behind the carrying out of their barbarous policy of extermination and their cruel and inhuman forms of systematic execution, but also by another factor, perhaps more condemnable, that is to say their betrayal of the Kampuchean people who had brought them to power at the price of one of the most arduous and heroic revolutionary struggles. Their vile betrayal of all honest workers, peasants and intellectuals of Kampuchea, who had confidence in them and pinned their hopes on them, and who found themselves rewarded their own extermination. Betrayal of their people, of their comrades, of the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples and of the Marxist-Leninist principles they claimed to profess. Instead of developing their country's productive forces, they completely annihilated them. Instead of creating a free and just society, they installed a regime of slavery without precedent; instead of fighting for the all-round development of the citizens, they exterminated them physically, mentally and morally. Instead of working for the glory of their country, developing its riches and culture, instead of winning for it the place that it

deserves among the fraternal revolutionary countries, instead of fulfilling that noble task, that duty towards the living and the dead, Pol Pot and Ieng Sary tried to turn Kampuchea into an agricultural appendix of China, inhabited exclusively by slaves. To this end they applied a policy of genocide, they committed the most monstrous crimes, for which they are being tried today.

Hence their criminal guilt which is exacerbated by perfidy and treason. Hence the well-deserved condemnation by this Tribunal, by their people, by all the nations and by history.

Statement of SUSUMI OZAKI, lawyer

My name is Susumi Ozaki, Japanese citizen. I worked as a judge until 1932 under the absolute emperor system. Just because I joined the Japanese Communist Party I was arrested, put on trial and imprisoned for six years. Following the defeat of Japan in 1945, the absolute emperor system collapsed and subsequently, my lawyer's qualification has been restored.

Today as a democratic lawyer I am working together with other people for peace and democracy. I have come here to collect the truth about Kampuchea through observing this tribunal and reporting it to other democratic lawyers and Japanese people who love justice, thus consolidating and developing friendly relations between the peoples of Japan and Kampuchea.

Modern law requires correct procedure for criminal trials. Allow me in this regard, to express my respect for the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea in its efforts made to set up this tribunal and proceed with strict and correct procedure, despite extremely difficult conditions.

The Decree of the People's Revolutionary Council on the establishment of the People's Revolutionary

Tribunal in Phnom Penh to try the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique for their crime of genocide, dated 15 July 1979, and the decision of the presiding judge concerning the penal procedure for the judgement of the crime of genocide of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique are both in conformity with the Nuremberg principles which were confirmed in the United Nations General Assembly in 1946 and the purport of the International Convention on Genocide signed in 1948.

I have witnessed that the actual proceedings till now have been strictly organized and hope that the following process continues to go smoothly. Only a few days before the opening of the tribunal, I saw some sites of massacres and destructions and heard from six victims and witnesses. I am now full of sorrow and pain. The Kampuchean people, people who won independence in 1975 after a long struggle and expected peace and prosperity, never supposed they would encounter such hardships as they have.

In my short tour in the city I noticed beautifully constructed houses with practically no people living there. Phnom Penh has become virtually a ghost town, which proves the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary's policy of forcible evacuation. I have heard that this policy had been applied to other cities and a number of rural centres. The destruction of modern political and social organizations and of cities means also that of the economy. I have seen the Central Bank in ruins and the market closed: currency and the market are a product of human initiative and the result of long practices of economy. Modern social and economic life is sustained by them. Otherwise, civilized life would collapse.

I have seen a newly-constructed high school building turned into a prison. The classrooms are divided into small cells with a iron chain each in them. This prison was far from an ordinary modern penal institution. Let us compare it with hell. But schools are educational establishments to bring up a young generation worthy for construction of future society.

On the walls, I saw hundreds of portraits with names on their clothes which told that a large number of people of different strata were killed after barbarous torture. I collected testimonies of a boy whose parents were killed there and a man who had been imprisoned for two years. I saw a vacant plot where once a Buddhist temple stood. Temples are a symbol of religion. Their destruction represents the devastation of traditional culture. For future development of moral culture requires the protection of cultural property of mankind.

I was given an opportunity to hear testimony from a woman student whose 13 closest relatives were separated from each other. All but three died of hunger and diseases. Also from a young girl whose mother and two brothers were brutally massacred; from a peasant whose wife was killed and who twice witnessed large-scale massacres; a mother of French nationality who suffered cruel persecution.

Their testimonies were too vivid for me to hear. The acts of the butchers were simply those of devils. The suffering of Mrs Yasuko Naito is today widely known in Japan.

What I heard and saw in Phnom Penh may be only a small part compared to the whole picture

in the Indictment. The Indictment has systematically and concretely pointed out the facts that the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique betrayed the Kampuchean people, led them to the verge of extermination, massacred three million innocent people, brought unbearable physical and spiritual pain to four million survivors, destroyed the national economy and culture, thus causing damage to every social stratum, family, regional life and the nation as a whole.

The Indictment has been endorsed by many documents submitted to this Tribunal with vivid testimonies by survivors including Mrs Yasuko Naito. These pieces of proof clearly show that the main aspects of the crime were: forcible evacuation from Phnom Penh; abolition of religion; persecution of the ethnic minorities and people of other nationalities; starvation, death of sickness, torture and massacre of millions of people of every social strata: total denial of human dignity and humanity, destruction of the social fabric.

The crime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary violates not only the Convention of Genocide and other international laws but also human dignity and humanity. In this regard, I share the view with the report of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers which visited Kampuchea last May.

At this moment, I remember that the Kampuchean people has a tradition of having fought heroically for independence and liberty over 30 years, hand in hand with the peoples of Vietnam and Laos till 1975. This struggle enjoyed worldwide support from those who love justice. Independence and liberty are the basic rights of any nation. I believe

that the Kampuchean people, guided by the National United Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea, will in the end overcome the present hardship and develop their national rights to independence and liberty.

Today the Kampuchean people has a sole and legitimate government ,i.e. the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea.

I conclude my statement by assuring that we will do our utmost to reinforce the solidarity of the Japanese people with the Kampuchean people, and to have the Japanese Government recognize Kampuchea's legitimate government as soon as possible.

**Statement of JOHN QUIGLEY, Professor of Law
Ohio State University (U.S.A.)**

As a citizen of the United States of America, I have found it particularly painful to listen to the testimony before this People's Revolutionary Tribunal and to learn of the atrocities committed here in Kampuchea during the past four years. The USA backed the government of Lon Nol and destroyed much of the Kampuchean countryside through its bombing. The mass influx of people into Kampuchea's cities as a result of that bombing led to shortage and disease in the cities. Those conditions in the cities doubtless provided Pol Pot with a pretext to empty Kampuchea's cities, and to commit monstrous crimes.

The trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary before this tribunal of the Kampuchean people marks an important step in the efforts of the international community to prevent large-scale brutality by governments against their own populations. The first major step was the Nuremberg trials following World War II, where the concept of "crimes against humanity" was first applied. The second was the adoption in 1948 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. The third is the trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary.

The evidence which has now been made known to the world about Kampuchea during the period 1975-1979 makes it clear that genocide has indeed been committed here. Article 2 of the Genocide Convention prohibits the killing of members of a national, ethnic, racial or religious group with an intent to destroy that group in whole or in part. The massacres carried out by the agents of Angkar manifest an intent to use mass killings to wipe out national minorities, religious groups, and the stratum of intellectuals in Kampuchean society.

Article 2 of the Genocide Convention also considers it to be genocide if conditions are imposed on a group to bring about its elimination in whole or in part. The living conditions imposed on the Kampuchean people, beginning with the forced evacuation of its cities in April 1975, led to large-scale death from starvation and exhaustion.

The Genocide Convention does not simply make genocide a crime. It also requires States to prevent and punish genocide. Thus, by holding this trial, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is fulfilling its solemn obligation to the world community.

The nations of the world should applaud this effort by the People's Republic of Kampuchea to carry out its duty under the Genocide Convention and should assist Kampuchea in that effort. Article 7 of the Genocide Convention requires any nation where perpetrators of genocide are found to extradite them so that they can be held accountable for their crimes. Article 8 of the Genocide Convention requires the United Nations to assist to facilitate extradition of perpetrators of genocide.

In Kampuchea those who have perished in the last four years are not the only victims of genocide. Those who remain alive continue to suffer from its effects. If the nations of the world are truly interested in stopping genocide, they must provide material assistance to alleviate the conditions under which the victims of genocide in Kampuchea are presently living.

But rather than provide this much needed assistance, most nations refuse to have any relations with the government of Kampuchea, preferring instead to recognize the perpetrators of genocide as the *de jure* government of Kampuchea. Certainly, one of the consequences of the commission of genocide must be that a regime perpetrating genocide loses its right to govern. So it was with the government of Adolf Hitler, and so it must be with the government of Pol Pot—Ieng Sary.

The trial of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary will demonstrate to the world the sufferings of the Kampuchean people during the past four years. The world must recognize the fact that the people of Kampuchea are united in their effort to build a new nation out of the rubble left by the Pol Pot regime. The international community did nothing to help the Kampuchean people when they were being starved and slaughtered. The least it can do now is to help them recover from the effects of the genocide they have endured.

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